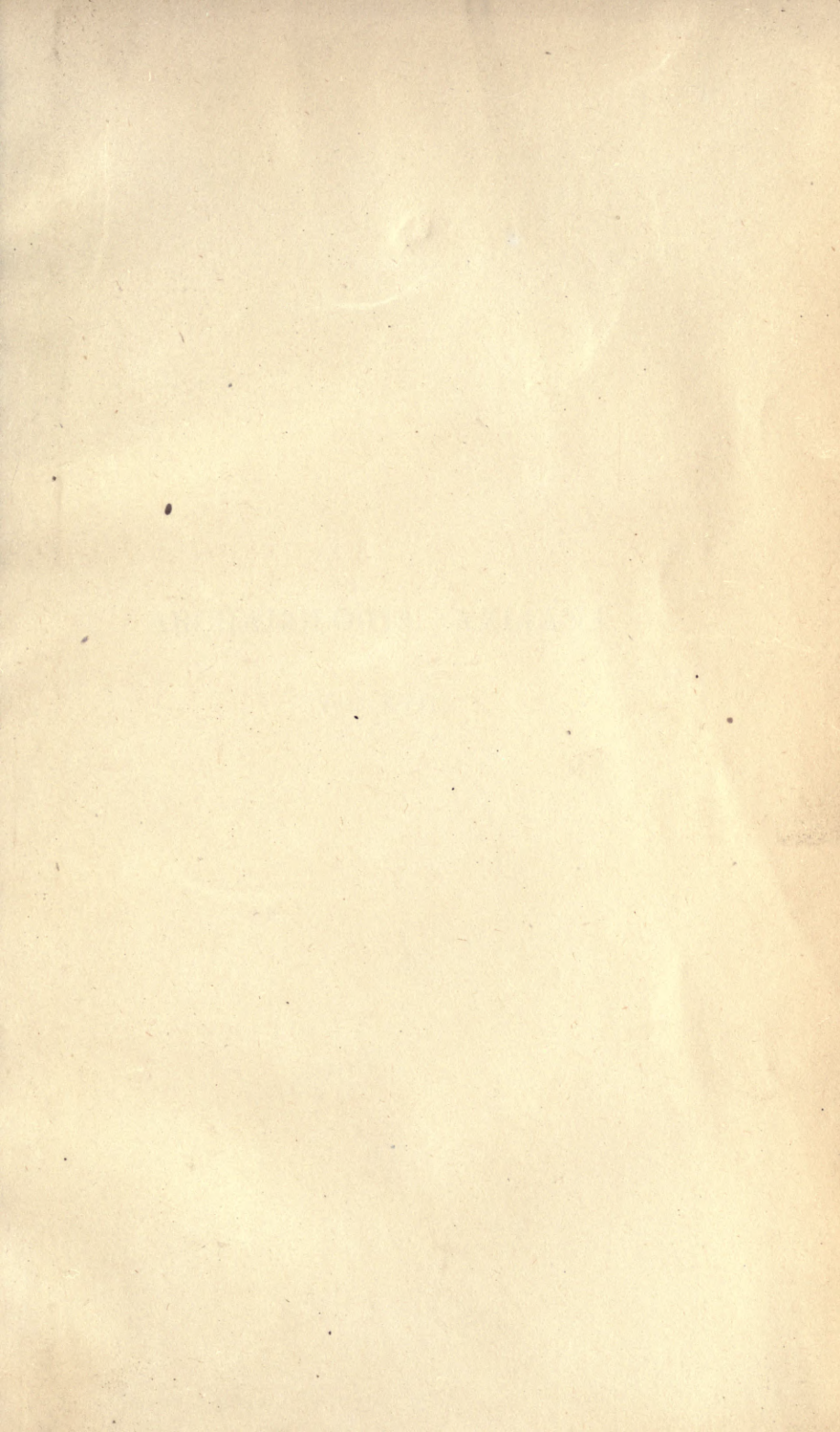


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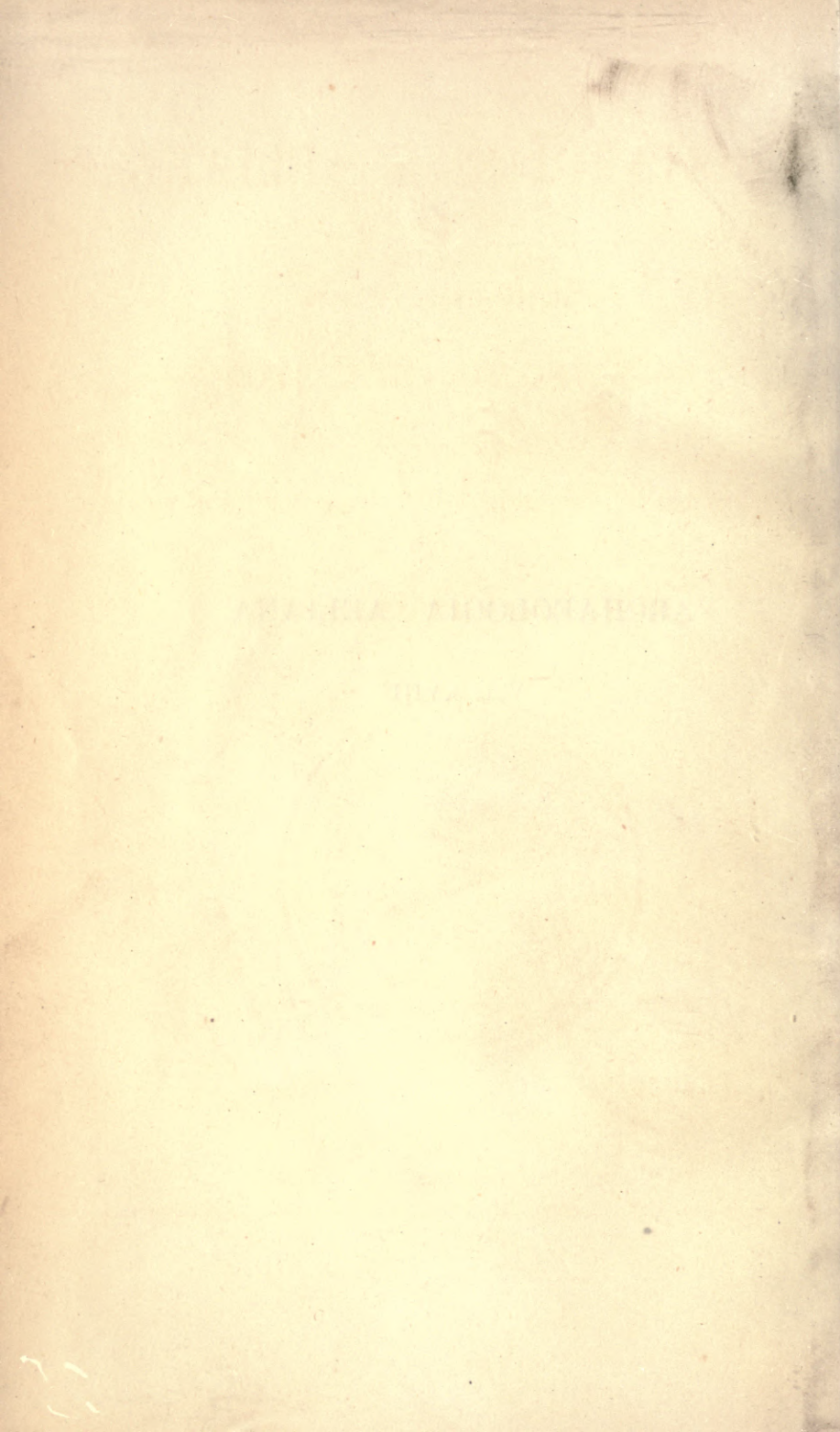
THE ROYAL CANADIAN INSTITUTE



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ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

VOL. XVIII.



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ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA:

OR,

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

VOLUME XVIII.



LONDON AND NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE:

ANDREW REID & CO., LIMITED, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS, AKENSIDE HILL.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF PLATES, ETC.

Thanks are given to the following Contributors :

- Adamson, Mr. Horatio A. : for plate XV., plan of Tynemouth Castle, *temp.* Eliz., and loan of drawing of Tynemouth Castle, facing p. 80, and photograph from which plan on page 78 was prepared.
- Charlton, Mr. Oswin J. : for rubbing of Athol matrix, plate X.
- Hicks, Mr. W. S. : for plan of St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle, plate IX.
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- Kilburn, Mr. H. : for photographs of interior of Auckland Castle Chapel, plates XVIII. and XXI.
- Mackey, Mr. M. : loan of Oliver's plan from which block on p. 243 made.
- Park, Mr. Frederick : for photograph of Town Wall of Newcastle, in Gallowgate, on page 111.
- Spence, C. J. : for photograph of old houses formerly on quay, plate XXX.
- Woodman, Miss : for photograph of her father, the late W. Woodman, V.P., and plate facing p. 54.

CORRECTIONS.

- Page 108, line 1, for 'Conquestre' read 'Conquestu.'
- Page 106, line 12 from bottom, for 'maceriens' read 'macერიem.'
- Page 106, line 6 from bottom, for 'servatus' read 'servatis.'
- Page 107, line 8 from bottom, for 'Axeladuno' read 'Axelოდუno.'
- Page 105, line 21, delete stop after *Βρεττανία*.
- Page 215, line 9 from bottom, for 'Morton' read 'Morley.'

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REPORT
OF
The Society of Antiquaries
OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

ANNUAL MEETING, M.DCCC.XCVI.

THE Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society of Antiquaries has not much of especial interest to report for the year 1895. The publication of the new *County History of Northumberland* is being steadily proceeded with, and the third volume, dealing with Hexham, is now completed and will be issued shortly.

An important contribution to the medieval history of our city has been made by our member Mr. F. W. Dendy, who has edited for the Surtees Society the first volume of *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. This volume contains (in the words of the preface) 'a fairly complete history of the company as a burghal merchants' guild.' A second volume will, it is hoped, give an account of the transactions of the company as a foreign trading company, and will also furnish some valuable materials to the local genealogist. The interest of the present volume is much enhanced by a carefully-written introduction, tracing 'the early prosperity and the subsequent decay of the gild system,' as illustrated by these records.

The exploration of the Roman camp at Great Chesters has been successfully prosecuted by the Northumberland Excavation Committee, and the excavations have disclosed the existence of a western gateway unknown to Bruce and Maclauchlan. Interesting evidences are afforded of at least three distinct periods in the history of the camp, separated by intervening periods of demolition. The committee earnestly hopes to continue the operations in the central part of the camp next

summer, but unless subscriptions are furnished on a more liberal scale than during the past year the work will have to be restricted to a very narrow area.

In connection with the operations undertaken by the Cumberland Society at Walltown, our member and vice-president, Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates, has discovered what appear to be the traces of a turf wall, similar to that which the Glasgow explorers have found between Forth and Clyde. It is too early as yet to appraise the consequences of this discovery, which may open out one of the most interesting chapters in the story of the scientific exploration of the Roman Wall.

In this connection we ought also to mention that it is to Mr. Bates that we are indebted for a very valuable and thorough *History of Northumberland*, published in Mr. Elliot Stock's series of county histories. This is, we believe, the first time that an author has been found capable of compressing the rich and varied history of our county within the compass of a single volume without omitting any important particulars.

During the year discoveries have been made in the great hall of the keep, elucidating some structural features of the castle of New-castle, which will be noted in a paper to be read at a future meeting.

The first part of the general index is ready for issue to members who pay in advance the sum of 5s. per copy, which we have thought a proper sum to charge for it.

We appointed a sub-committee to consider the financial position of the society, in view of the fact that the expenditure for the year 1895 exceeded the income by the sum of £70 13s. 2d., and the following is their report to us, which we recommend to the society for adoption:—

In the year 1890 the council, basing its calculations upon an annual income of £445, apportioned the expenditure among the various departments as follows:—

				Per Annum.					
				£	s.	d.			
<i>Archaeologia</i>	80	0	0	}	£445	0 0
<i>Proceedings</i>	...	...	...	45	0	0
Illustrations	...	...	...	55	0	0
Books for library	...	...	...	30	0	0
Castle	...	...	...	80	0	0
Black Gate	...	...	...	35	0	0
Museum	...	...	...	10	0	0
Sundries	70	0	0	}		
Secretary	...	...	...	40	0	0

During that year (1890) the expenditure was a few pounds within the allotted sums, but every subsequent year has shown an increase, culminating in an aggregate excess of £281, of which £118 is attributable to this last year.

The department in which the largest increase has occurred is that of the *Archaeologia*. For the six years 1890-95 the expenditure at £80 per annum should have been £480. The actual outlay has been £687, showing an excess of £207, of which sum £58 is attributable to 1895, and £75 to 1891. It is to be noted, however, that whereas in the five years 1890-94 only three volumes (XIV-XVI.) of *Archaeologia* were issued, a whole volume (XVII.) has been completed in 1895.

We have ascertained the approximate cost of these four volumes, and find it to be—

					£	s.	d.
Vol. XIV.—489 pages	...	...	...	...	160	0	0
„ XV.—455 „	...	...	...	...	149	0	0
„ XVI.—540 „	...	...	...	...	171	0	0
„ XVII.—362 „	...	...	...	...	118	0	0
					<hr/>		
					£598	0	0
Leaving for covers and illustrations, etc.					89	1	9
					<hr/>		
Making a total of	...	...	...	...	£687	1	9

Another department in which there has been a substantial increase is that of books purchased for the society's library. For the six years above-named the allotted expenditure amounted to £180, the sum spent was £238, an excess of £58.

The aggregate expenditure upon the castle has exceeded the allotment by £18, the item of sundries shows an excess of £13, the *Proceedings* £10, and the Black Gate £6. The remaining departments show a saving—museum £24, and illustrations £8. All these figures are even pounds, omitting shillings and pence.

It must be borne in mind that although the expenditure has greatly exceeded the allotment the income of the society since the allotment was made shows a material increase. Over the estimate of £445 the annual augmentations of income have been as follows :—For 1890, £1 1s. 10d.; 1891, £87 4s.; 1892, £53 11s. 4d.; 1893, £41 17s.; 1894, £45 12s. 1d.; 1895, £47 18s. 11d.; making a total of £277 5s. 2d.

If these figures be deducted from the £281 3s. 10d., by which the six years' outlay exceeds the allotment, it will be found that the excess is £3 18s. 8d., in other words, that we have spent all our income in that period, and £3 18s. 8d. beyond.

The sub-committee is of opinion that a new scheme of apportionment should now be made, and that great care should be taken to keep each department within the prescribed limits of expenditure.

The council is therefore recommended to adopt the following :—

The sum allotted to the *Archaeologia Aeliana* to be ... £100 0 0
 Being an increase of £20 per annum upon the sum apportioned in 1890, the editor to reduce the size of the separate parts issued, in conformity with this recommendation.

The sum allotted to the *Proceedings* to be ... 55 0 0
 Being an increase of £10 per annum to cover the cost of printing the Parish Registers, the editor is advised not to repeat details of places previously visited, or of which adequate descriptions have been already published in the *Proceedings* or *Archaeologia Aeliana*.

The sum to be spent upon books for the library each year
 not to exceed 20 0 0

 £175 0 0

Other items to remain the same, namely :—Illustrations, £55; the Castle, £80; the Black Gate, £35; the Museum, £10; Sundries, £70; Secretary, £40; total, £465.

The income for 1895 was £492 18s. 11d., and assuming that the income for 1896 is no less, the observance of the recommendations herein contained will leave a credit balance of £27 18s. 11d.

The following is the report of the curators to us :—

‘The objects presented to the museum in the past year numbered twenty-six. Seventeen of these are domestic and other articles, of comparatively recent date; the remaining items include one engraving, one plan, a large utensil of hewn sandstone, a mediæval vaulting boss, a pre-Conquest fragment, the large Roman stone from Corstopitum, and the classical capital and base now placed at the entrance of the library.

It has been found difficult to utilize the three cases which occupied the floor of the uppermost apartment of the Black Gate museum. These cabinets were made for the narrow window-splays of the Old Castle, and, when removed to their new positions at the Black Gate, they not only proved inefficient, but added an ungainly feature to the room. In order, therefore, to adapt them to the place, their entire reconstruction, a work of considerable expence, became necessary. In your curators’ last report it was mentioned that two new cabinets of special design had been presented for the Roman room of the museum; from the same source, the whole cost of reconstructing and enlarging the three old cases has been defrayed. The appearance of the museum

is greatly enhanced by this improvement, and it has now become possible to proceed with the re-arrangement of the society's collection. When this is completed the museum will be rendered of increasing value to students of archaeology, and will become, it is hoped, an attraction to the public at large. The importance of the latter consideration is apparent in view of the continuous annual loss which the maintenance of the museum entails upon the society. Your curators suggest the desirability of adopting means to popularise this important collection of antiquities.

The cannons which lay on the basement floor of the keep have now been mounted and placed in positions favourable for the inspection of these important examples of ancient gunnery.

The ordnance upon the gun platforms of the keep remain in the deplorable state already reported by your curators, and with each year the decay of the gun carriages increases. Some of the cannons are dismounted, and now lie where their neglected state adds an unsightly feature to the battlements and an element of danger to the visitor. The guns are public property, and are only within the province of the society as their custodians. In this relation it is suggested that an application to the proper quarter would, with little difficulty, obtain a grant of discarded ship's carriages suitable for the remount of the ordnance. If any further inducement is required to urge this repair, it is in the interest attaching to these relics of old Newcastle. Their salutes accompanied the civic pageant and played their part in every public demonstration of joy. Thus, as old servants of the town, if not of the state, they appeal for our consideration.'

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1895.

Jan. 30. From Mr. CHARLES JOHNSON—

Large iron key, from Old Mansion House, Newcastle.

A bundle of 'spunks' (brimstone matches for use with a tinder box).

Three 'steels,' for striking with flint.

Two portable boxes of steel, one of which is intended for holding tinder and the other a flint.

Oval plate; one of the plates formerly affixed by fire insurance companies to the houses insured by them. This plate was removed from the Tiger inn, west end of the Close, Newcastle. It bears the device and policy number of the Newcastle Fire Office (*Proc.* vol. vii. p. 2).

- Apr. 24. From Mr. HOBATIO A. ADAMSON (vice-president)—
 Corinthian capital and base of a column, brought from a ruined temple at Ascalon, Syria. These relics were purchased in 1875 by the master of the s.s. 'Ethelred,' of North Shields, who happened to visit Ascalon whilst excavations were in progress (*Proc.* vol. vii. pp. 42, 50, and 52).
- From Mr. SHERITON HOLMES (treasurer)—
 A plan of the Roman station at Great Chesters (Aesica), from the survey by himself (*ibid.* vol. vii. p. 42).
- May 29. From Mr. GEORGE CARR, Goldspink Cottage—
 Papier-maché snuff box, three and a half inches diameter, and a cigar case of the same material. Both of these are decorated with painted figures.
- From Mr. T. G. GIBSON—
 A parcel of old deeds, damaged by the great fire resulting from the explosion at Gateshead in 1854.
- From Mr. JOHN A. DOTCHIN—
 A large teapot of white earthenware, from the Old Mansion House, Newcastle.
- From the Rev. Canon RAINE (vice-president)—
 Matrix of a small oval seal, bearing the arms of Newcastle, and inscribed round the verge: 'NEWCASTLE INSTITUTE FOR THE GENERAL PROMOTION OF THE FINE ARTS,' and under the arms, 'Established A.D. 1823.'
- From Mr. T. H. ROBINSON, Corbridge—
 A large oblong tombstone of the Roman period, measuring forty-four inches by twenty-four inches, and six inches thick. It was found in digging the foundations for houses at Trinity Terrace, Corbridge, a little east of the site of the Roman Corstopitum, and near it were also found two large vennel stones apparently on the site of a conduit used for bringing water from the direction of Prior Mains to the station. The tombstone shows signs of calcination, and is completely shattered. Under a pediment, in which an object like a fir cone appears, the lettering is apparently
 D.M. | IVL PR /// SVE | CO // VGIC | PC.
- From the Rev. R. COULTON (vicar of Kirkmerrington)—
 An early eighteenth-century medal of brass, with a stem, probably used as a pipe stopper, representing on one side the head of a pope, on the other that of a cardinal, found in Kirkmerrington churchyard. When the medal is turned upside down the profiles appear as the devil and a fool respectively (*Proc.* vol. vii. p. 50).
- July 31. From Mr. W. RINGWOOD—
 Old padlock, measuring twelve inches long by six inches across at its widest part, having keyhole cover opening with a spring catch. Large key for above.
 A flint and steel mill, as used by miners, but adapted subsequently for turning a small grindstone (*Proc.* vol. vii. p. 94).

Aug. 28. From The Rev. E. HUSSEY ADAMSON (vice-president)—

Framed engraving representing a coat of arms showing all the quarterings of the Percy family, together with a letterpress key to the same (*ibid.* vol. vii. p. 134).

From Mr. GEORGE IRVING—

Two phials containing charred wheat from the Roman camps at Birrens and at Great Chesters (*ibid.* vol. vii. p. 134).

Nov. 27. From Mr. W. A. OLIVER, Newcastle—

A circular vessel of hewn sandstone found in an excavation at the back of Rewcastle Chare during the current month. It measures about thirty inches diameter, is roughly hewn, and appears to have been used in some process of manufacture (*ibid.* vol. vii. p. 153).

Dec. 18. From Mr. CHAS. L. BELL, Woolsington—

Carved vaulting boss, sixteen inches diameter, with crouching figures clasped, of probably early fifteenth-century date. Origin unknown (*ibid.* vol. vii. p. 161).

From Mr. S. S. CARR—

Fragment of the shaft of a pre-Conquest cross found in the castle yard, Tynemouth (*ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 161 and 163).



PORTION OF SHAFT OF PRE-CONQUEST CROSS FROM TYNEMOUTH

The following is the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

for the year ending December 31st, 1895 :—

‘ During the past year there has been a loss of 30 members arising from deaths, resignations, and other causes, and 21 members have been elected. The present number of ordinary members is 329, of whom four are life members.

The balance of revenue account carried forward to 1896 is £130 11s. 10d., and the capital invested in $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. consols now amounts to £49 8s. 9d.

During the year £100 of the bank balance has been placed on deposit account with our bankers, Messrs. Lambton & Co., in accordance with a resolution of the council.

The total income from all sources has been £492 18s. 11d., which is slightly in advance of 1894 ; but the expenditure has been very considerably increased beyond that of the previous year, and has amounted to £563 12s. 1d., an increase of £56 13s. 6d. over that of 1894, and which leaves a debit balance upon the year of £70 13s. 2d.

This increase of expenditure has arisen chiefly under the heads of *Archaeologia*, *Proceedings*, and the purchase of books, though it may be noted that the cost of the *Proceedings* has been swollen by the printing of the registers of the parish of Esh, which have occupied about fifty pages.

The receipts from members’ subscriptions have been £333 18s., a falling off of fourteen guineas from that of the previous year.

The sale of the society’s publications has amounted to £31 7s. 9d., compared with £16 3s. 9d. during 1894.

The expenditure for the castle is about £8 over that of last year, but it includes a sum of £17 paid for a case to hold the numerous woodcuts and other blocks belonging to the society. The expenditure on the Black Gate is nearly the same as last year, but the receipts show an increase of £5 8s. 4d., which is curious, as during the year the castle receipts have decreased about £4. The balance of receipts against expenditure upon the two places for the year shows a loss of £2 7s. 10d.

Sheriton Holmes, Hon. Treasurer.’

*Sheriton Holmes, Treasurer, in account with the Society of Antiquaries
of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DECEMBER 31ST, 1895.

	Receipts.			Expenditure.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance on January 1st, 1895	201	5	0			
Members' Subscriptions	333	18	0			
Castle	102	10	6	91	19	6
Black Gate	25	2	8	38	1	6
Museum				2	13	10
Books	31	7	9	47	19	1
<i>Archæologia Aeliana</i>				138	8	6
<i>Proceedings</i> and Registers				75	3	9
Illustrations				56	7	5
Sundries				72	18	6
Secretary (clerical assistance)				40	0	0
Balance				130	11	10
	£694	3	11	£694	3	11

Capital Account.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Invested in 2½ per cent. Consols	42	18	5			
Interest to end of 1895	6	10	4			
				49	8	9
				£49	8	9

Audited and certified,

J. A. DIXON.

R. W. SISSON.

24th January, 1896.

Details of Expenditure.

CASTLE—	£	s.	d.
Salaries	65	16	0
Gas	0	5	6
Water	0	6	0
Property Tax	1	10	6
Insurance	0	7	6
Rent	0	2	6
Sundries: Coal, Firewood, etc.	2	14	5
Curtains for Library	2	16	1
Excavations in Walls of Keep	0	11	0
Case for Wood Blocks, etc.	17	10	0
	£91	19	6

BLACK GATE—										£	s.	d.
Salaries...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	16	0
Gas ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9	3
Water ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Property Tax ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
Insurance ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	15	0
Rent ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Repairs ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	2	2
Sundries (Coal, etc.) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9	1
Bell Fixing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	6
Show Case ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	6
										£38	1	6
MUSEUM—										£	s.	d.
Engraved Plate for Mr. Walker's Portrait ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
Carriage of Stones from Aesica ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	9	10
Cases for Roman Slabs ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	18	0
										£2	13	10
BOOKS BOUGHT—										£	s.	d.
Cohen's <i>Médailles Impériales</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	0
Boecking's <i>Notitia Dignitatum</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	18	0
Tanner's <i>Notitia Monastica</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12	6
Reports of German <i>Limes</i> Commission ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	10
<i>Cumberland Worthies</i> , 6 vols. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	18	0
Sharp's <i>Hartlepool</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	6
Summers's <i>Sunderland</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
<i>Calendar of State Papers</i> , 2 vols. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Surtees Society publications, vols. 13, 15, 24, 36, 82 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	18	6
<i>Northumberland County History</i> , vol. 2 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Tomlinson's <i>Denton Hall</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	6
<i>Year-book of Societies</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
<i>Antike Denkmäler</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	2
Haswell's <i>The Maister</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
<i>Reliquary and Antiquary</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9	2
Transactions of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	6
Bates's <i>History of Northumberland</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
<i>The London Companies</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Shelf Register for the Library ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	5	0
Waters for binding Books ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	2	8
General Index to Society's Transactions ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	12	9
										£47	19	1
SUNDRIES—										£	s.	d.
Cheque Book ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Nicholson for general printing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	12	6
Reid & Co. do. do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	3	1
Hughes for Frames ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	6
Moor for re-caning Chairs ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	19	8
Gibson, postage and carriage ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	5	0
Income Tax ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	4
Subscription—Harleian Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Do. —Surtees Society ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Secretary's petty disbursements ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	0	5
Treasurer's do. do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6	6
Index to <i>Archæologia</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	0
Sundries ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	6
										£72	18	6

THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR M.DCCC.XCVI.

Patron.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

President.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH.

Vice-Presidents.

THE REV. EDWARD HUSSEY ADAMSON.
HORATIO ALFRED ADAMSON.
CADWALLADER JOHN BATES, M.A.
JOHN CROSSE BROOKS.
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MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE ON THE
1ST MARCH, 1896.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Date of Election.		
1851 Feb.	3	Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., Lea Hall, Gainsborough.
1855 Jan.	3	J. J. Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., Mayfield, Orchard Road, Blackheath, Kent.
1883 June	27	Professor Emil Hübner, LL.D., Ahornstrasse 4, Berlin.
1883 June	27	Professor Mommsen, Marchstrasse 8, Charlottenburg bei Berlin.
1883 June	27	Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden, Stockholm.
1883 June	27	Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, K.C.B., P.S.A., Keeper of British Antiquities in the British Museum, London.
1883 June	27	Ernest Chantre, Lyons.
1886 June	30	Ellen King Ware (Mrs.), The Abbey, Carlisle.
1886 June	30	Gerrit Assis Hulsebos, Lit. Hum. Doct., &c., Utrecht, Holland.
1886 June	30	Edwin Charles Clark, LL.D., F.S.A., &c., Cambridge.
1886 June	30	David Mackinlay, 6 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
1888 Jan.	25	General Pitt-Rivers, F.S.A., Rushmore, Salisbury.
1892 Jan.	27	Sir John Evans, K.C.B., D.C.L., &c., &c., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
1892 May	25	Professor Karl Zangemeister, Heidelberg.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

The sign * indicates that the member has compounded for his subscription.

† that the member is one of the Council. ‡ indicates a life-member.

Date of Election.	
1885 Mar. 25	Adams, William Edwin, 32 Holly Avenue, Newcastle.
1883 Aug. 29	†Adamson, Rev. Cuthbert Edward, Westoe, South Shields.
1843 April 4	†Adamson, Rev. Edward Hussey, St. Alban's, Felling, R.S.O.
1873 July	†Adamson, Horatio Alfred, 29 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Adamson, Lawrence William, LL.D., 2 Eslington Road, Newcastle.
1885 Oct. 28	Adie, George, 46 Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1895 July 31	Allan, Thomas, Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1885 June 24	Allgood, Anne Jane (Miss), Hermitage, Hexham.
1886 Jan. 27	Allgood, Robert Lancelot, Titlington Hall, Alnwick.
1893 Sept. 27	Archer, Mark, Farnacres, Gateshead.
1885 Dec. 30	Armstrong, Lord, Craggside, Rothbury.
1889 Mar. 27	Armstrong, Watson-, W. A., Craggside, Rothbury.
1884 Jan. 30	Armstrong, Thomas John, 14 Hawthorn Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Mar. 30	Armstrong, William Irving, South Park, Hexham.
1882	†Bates, Cadwallader John, M.A., Langley Castle, Langley, North- umberland.
1894 Mar. 25	Bates, Stuart Frederick, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Baumgartner, John Robert, 10 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Beckingham, F. H., Westward House, Ryton.
1889 July 31	Bell, Charles Loraine, Woolsington, Newcastle.
1891 July 29	Bell, John E., Bell & Dunn, Queen Street, Newcastle.
1894 July 25	Bell, W. Heward, Holt, Trowbridge, Wiltshire.
1892 April 27	Bell, Thomas James, Cleadon Hall, near Sunderland.
1874 Jan. 7	†Blair, Robert, F.S.A., South Shields.
1892 Mar. 30	Blenkinsopp, Thomas, 3 High Swinburne Place, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Blindell, William A., Wester Hall, Humshaugh.
1892 Dec. 28	Bodleian Library, The, Oxford.
1892 June 29	Bolam, John, Bilton, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1888 April 25	Bolam, Robert G., Berwick-upon-Tweed.
1891 July 29	Bond, William Bownas, Northumberland Street, Newcastle.
1871	Booth, John, Shotley Bridge.
1883 Dec. 27	Bosanquet, Charles B. P., Rock, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1883 Dec. 27	Boutflower, Rev. D. S., Newbottle Vicarage, Fence Houses.
1883 June 27	Bowden, Thomas, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 May 25	Bowes, John Bosworth, 18 Hawthorn Street, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Boyd, George Fenwick, Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.

Date of Election.	
1894 Feb. 28	Boyd, William, North House, Long Benton.
1891 Dec. 23	Braithwaite, John, 21 Landsdowne Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Branford, William E., 90 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Brewis, Parker, Ellesmere, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1866 Mar. 7	†Brooks, John Crosse, 14 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 4	Brown, Rev. Dixon, Unthank Hall, Haltwhistle.
1892 Feb. 24	Brown, George T., 17 Fawcett Street, Sunderland.
1865 Aug. 2	Brown, Ralph, Benwell Grange, Newcastle.
1891 Dec. 23	Brown, The Rev. William, Old Elvet, Durham.
1891 July 29	*Browne, A. H., Callaly Castle, Whittingham, R.S.O.
1893 June 28	Browne, Thomas Procter, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1884 Sept. 24	Bruce, Sir Gainsford, Yewhurst, Bromley, Kent.
1891 Sept. 30	Burman, C. Clark, L.R.C.P.S. Ed., 12 Bondgate Without, Alnwick.
1889 April 24	Burnett, The Rev. W. R., Kelloe Vicarage, Coxhoe, Durham.
1888 Nov. 28	Burton, William Spelman, 19 Claremont Park, Gateshead.
1884 Dec. 30	Burton, S. B., Ridley Villas, Newcastle.
1887 Nov. 30	Cackett, James Thoburn, 24 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1892 Mar. 30	Campbell, John McLeod, 4 Winchester Terrace, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Carlisle, The Earl of, Naworth Castle, Brampton.
1892 Dec. 28	Carr, Frederick Ralph, Lympston, near Exeter.
1877	Carr, Rev. Henry Byne, Whickham, R.S.O.
1892 July 27	Carr, Sidney Storey, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1882	Carr, Rev. T. W., Barming Rectory, Maidstone, Kent.
1894 Jan. 31	Carse, John Thomas, Amble, Acklington.
1887 Oct. 26	Challoner, John Dixon, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 Feb. 24	Charlton, Oswin J., B.A., LL.B., 122 Northumberland Street, Newcastle.
1885 Nov. 25	Charlton, William L. S., Reenes, Bellingham, North Tyne.
1895 Sept. 25	Chester, Mrs., Stamfordham, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester (Walter T. Browne, Librarian).
1895 Nov. 27	Clapham, William, Park Villa, Darlington.
1896 Jan. 29	Clayton, John Bertram, Chesters, Humshaugh, Northumberland.
1883 Dec. 27	Clephan, Robert Coltman, Southdene Tower, Saltwell, Gateshead.
1893 July 26	Cooper, Robert Watson, 2 Sydenham Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Corder, Herbert, 10 Kensington Terrace, Sunderland.
1886 Sept. 29	Corder, Percy, 41 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	Corder, Walter Shewell, North Shields.
1887 Jan. 26	Cowen, Joseph, Stella Hall, Blaydon.
1892 Oct. 26	Cresswell, G. G. Baker, Junior United Service Club, London, S.W.
1888 Feb. 29	†Crossman, Sir William, K.C.M.G., Cheswick House, Beal.
1896 Feb. 26	Cruddas, W. D., M.P., Haughton Castle, Humshaugh.

Date of Election.

1889 Aug. 28	Culley, The Rev. Matthew, Longhorsley, Morpeth, Northumberland.
1888 Mar. 28	Darlington Public Library, Darlington.
1891 Nov. 18	Deacon, Thomas John Fuller, 10 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1844 about	†Dees, Robert Richardson, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1887 Aug. 31	†Dendy, Frederick Walter, Eldon House, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	Denison, Joseph, Sanderson Road, Newcastle.
1884 Mar. 26	Dickinson, John, Park House, Sunderland.
1893 Mar. 9	Dickinson, William Bowstead, Healey Hall, Riding Mill.
1883 June 27	Dixon, John Archbold, 5 Wellington Street, Gateshead.
1884 Aug. 27	Dixon, Rev. Canon, Warkworth Vicarage, Northumberland.
1884 July 2	Dixon, David Dippie, Rothbury.
1894 July 25	Dolan, Robert T., 6 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1884 July 30	Dotchin, J. A., 65 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Nov. 30	Drury, John C., 31 Alma Place, North Shields.
1884 Mar. 26	Dunn, William Henry, 5 St. Nicholas's Buildings, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 31	Durham Cathedral Library.
1888 June 27	East, John Goethe, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1881	Edwards, Harry Smith, Byethorn, Corbridge.
1876	Elliott, George, 47 Rosedale Terrace, Newcastle.
1895 May 29	Ellis, Rev. Philip, Kirkwhelpington, Northumberland.
1884 Feb. 27	Ellison, J. R. Carr-, Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1886 May 26	†Embleton, Dennis, M.D., 19 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	Emley, Fred., Ravenshill, Durham Road, Gateshead.
1886 Aug. 28	Featherstonhaugh, Rev. Walker, Edmundbyers, Blackhill.
1865 Aug. 2	Fenwick, George A., Bank, Newcastle.
1875	Fenwick, John George, Moorlands, Newcastle.
1894 Nov. 28	Ferguson, John, Dene Croft, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Ferguson, Richard Saul, F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1894 May 30	Forster, Fred. E., 32 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1887 Dec. 28	Forster, John, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Robert Henry, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Thomas Emmerson, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1890 Mar. 26	Forster, William, Houghton Hall, Carlisle.
1895 Jan. 30	Forster, William Charlton, 33 Westmorland Road, Newcastle.
1892 April 27	Francis, William, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Gayner, Francis, Beech Holme, Sunderland.
1859 Dec. 7	Gibb, Dr., Westgate Street, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	†Gibson, J. Pattison, Hexham.
1879	Gibson, Thomas George, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1878	Glendinning, William, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1896 Jan. 29	Glover, Rev. William, 48 Rothbury Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle.
1886 June 30	Gooderham, Rev. A., Vicarage, Chillingham, Belford.

Date of Election.		
1886 Oct.	27	Goodger, C. W. S., 20 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1895 Sept.	25	Gough, Rev. Edward John, Vicarage, Newcastle.
1888 Feb.	29	Grace, Herbert Wylam, Hallgarth Hall, Winlaton.
1894 Aug.	29	Gradon, J. G., Lynton House, Durham.
1886 Aug.	28	Graham, John, Findon Cottage, Sacriston, Durham.
1883 Feb.	28	Green, Robert Yeoman, 11 Lovaine Crescent, Newcastle.
1891 Oct.	28	Greene, Charles R., Hill Croft, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1845 June	3	†Greenwell, Rev. William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. Scot., Durham.
1883 Feb.	28	Greenwell, Francis John, Crosshouse, Westgate, Newcastle.
1877 Dec.	5	†Gregory, John Vessey, 10 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1891 Jan.	28	Haggie, Robert Hood, Blythswood, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1893 Mar.	8	Hall, Edmund James, 9 Prior Terrace, Tynemouth.
1883 Aug.	29	Hall, James, Tynemouth.
1883 Aug.	29	Hall, John, Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1887 Mar.	30	Halliday, Thomas, Myrtle Cottage, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1893 July	26	Harris, Sir Augustus, Tyne Theatre, Newcastle.
1892 Aug.	31	Harrison, John Adolphus, Saltwellville, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1884 Mar.	26	Harrison, Miss Winifred A., 9 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1893 Aug.	30	Hastings, Lord, Melton Constable, Norfolk.
1889 Feb.	27	*Haverfield, F. J., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
1882		Haythornthwaite, Rev. Edward, Felling Vicarage, Gateshead.
1894 May	30	Hedley, Edward Armorer, 8 Osborne Villas, Newcastle.
1893 Aug.	30	Hedley, Ralph, 19 Bellegrave Terrace, Newcastle.
1886 April	28	Hedley, Robert Cecil, Cheviot, Corbridge.
1884 Feb.	27	Henzell, Charles Wright, Tynemouth.
1891 Oct.	28	Heslop, George Christopher, 135 Park Road, Newcastle.
1883 Feb.	28	†Heslop, Richard Oliver, 12 Princes Buildings, Akenside Hill, Newcastle.
1883 Feb.	28	Hicks, William Searle, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 April	25	Hindmarsh, William Thomas, Alnbank, Alnwick.
1894 Oct.	31	Hinds, Allan B., 24 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1882		†Hodges, Charles Clement, Sele House, Hexham.
1865 Aug.	2	†Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., Bank, Newcastle.
1895 Jan.	30	Hodgkin, Thomas Edward, Bamburgh Castle, Belford.
1890 Jan.	29	†Hodgson, John Crawford, Warkworth.
1884 April	30	Hodgson, John George, Exchange Buildings, Quayside, Newcastle.
1887 Jan.	26	Hodgson, William, Elmcroft, Darlington.
1895 July	31	Hogg, John Robert, North Shields.
1891 Oct.	28	Holmes, Ralph Sheriton, 8 Sanderson Road, Newcastle.
1877 July	4	†Holmes, Sheriton, Moor View House, Newcastle.
1892 June	29	Hopper, Charles, Monkend, Croft, Darlington.
1882		Hopper, John, Grey Street, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1895 Dec. 18	Houldsworth, David Arundell, 2 Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1876	Hoyle, William Aubone, Normount, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Hunter, Edward, 8 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1894 May 30	Hunter, Thomas, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1894 Feb. 28	Ingledew, Alfred Edward, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1886 May 26	Irving, George, 1 Portland Terrace, West Jesmond, Newcastle.
1882	Johnson, Rev. Anthony, Healey Vicarage, Riding Mill.
1883 Aug. 29	Johnson, Rev. John, Hutton Rudby Vicarage, Yarm.
1883 Feb. 28	Joicey, Sir James, Bart., M.P., Longhirst, Morpeth.
1884 Oct. 29	†Knowles, William Henry, 38 Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1890 Jan. 29	Laing, Dr., Blyth.
1894 Sept. 26	Leeds Library, The, Commercial Street, Leeds.
1892 Dec. 28	Leitch, Rev. Richard, Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Lennox, A. H., Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Liverpool Free Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1887 June 29	Lockhart, Henry F., Prospect House, Hexham.
1894 July 25	Long, Rev. H. F., The Glebe, Bamburgh, Belford.
1850 Nov. 6	††Longstaffe, William Hilton Dyer, The Crescent, Gateshead.
1885 Aug. 26	Lynn, J. R. D., Blyth, Northumberland.
1894 Jan. 31	Maas, Hans, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1888 June 27	Macarthy, George Eugene, 9 Dean Street, Newcastle.
1877	McDowell, Dr. T. W., East Cottingwood, Morpeth.
1883 June 27	Mackey, Matthew, 33 Lily Avenue, West Jesmond, Newcastle.
1884 Mar. 26	†Mackey, Matthew, Jun., 8 Milton Street, Shieldfield, Newcastle.
1884 Aug. 27	Maling, Christopher Thompson, 14 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1891 May 27	Manchester Reference Library (C. W. Sutton, Librarian).
1895 Sept. 25	Marley, Thomas William, Netherlaw, Darlington.
1884 Mar. 26	Marshall, Frank, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1882	Martin, N. H., F.L.S., 8 Windsor Crescent, Newcastle.
1893 Oct. 25	Mather, Philip E., Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1891 Mar. 25	Maudlen, William, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Mayo, William Swatling, Riding Mill, Northumberland.
1894 July 25	Mearns, William, M.D., Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1891 Jan. 28	Melbourne Free Library (c/o Melville, Mullen, and Slade, 12 Ludgate Square, London, E.C.)
1891 Aug. 26	Mitcalfe, John Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1896 Jan. 29	Mitchell, Charles William, Jesmond Towers, Newcastle.
1883 Mar. 28	Moore, Joseph Mason, Harton, South Shields.
1883 May 30	Morrow, T. R., 2 St. Andrew's Villas, Watford, Herts.
1883 Feb. 28	Morton, Henry Thomas, Twizell House, Belford, Northumberland.
1883 Oct. 13	Motum, Hill, Town Hall, Newcastle.
1886 Dec. 29	Murray, William, M.D., 9 Ellison Place, Newcastle.

XXVI THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Date of Election.	
1883 June 27	Nelson, Ralph, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
1883 Feb. 28	Newcastle, The Bishop of, Benwell Tower, Newcastle.
1884 July 2	Newcastle Public Library.
1895 Feb. 27	Newton, Robert, Warden House, Hexham.
1883 Jan. 31	Nicholson, George, Barrington Street, South Shields.
1893 Feb. 28	Nicholson, Joseph James, 8 North View, Heaton, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Norman, William, 23 Eldon Place, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Northbourne, Lord, Betteshanger, Kent.
	†Northumberland, The Duke of, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1889 Aug. 28	Oliver, Prof. Thomas, M.D., 7 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Ord, John Robert, Haughton Hall, Darlington.
1883 Mar. 28	Ormond, Richard, 35 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1894 Dec. 19	Oswald, Joseph, 33 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1889 Aug. 28	Park, A. D., 11 Bigg Market, Newcastle.
1884 Dec. 30	Parkin, John S., 11 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1892 Mar. 30	Pattison, John, Colbeck Terrace, Tynemouth.
1893 Mar. 29	Pearson, Rev. Samuel, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1882	Pease, John William, Pendower, Benwell, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Pease, Howard, Bank, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Peile, George, Greenwood, Shotley Bridge.
1892 Nov. 30	Percy, The Earl, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1884 Sept. 24	†Phillips, Maberly, F.S.A., 12 Grafton Road, Whitley, R.S.O.
1880	Philipson, George Hare, M.A., M.D., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1871	†Philipson, John, Victoria Square, Newcastle.
1879 Jan. 29	Pickering, William, Poplar Cottage, Longbenton, Newcastle.
1888 Jan. 25	Plummer, Arthur B., 2 Eslington Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Potts, Joseph, Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Proud, George, Woodside Cottage, Broom Lane, Whickham, R.S.O.
1880	Proud, John, Bishop Auckland.
1882	Pybus, Robert, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1854 Oct. 4	†Raine, Rev. James, Canon of York.
	†Ravensworth, The Earl of, Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead.
1887 Aug. 31	Reavell, George, Jun., Alnwick.
1882	Redmayne, R. Norman, 27 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Redpath, Robert, Linden Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 May 30	Reed, The Rev. George, Killingworth, Newcastle.
1894 Feb. 28	Reed, Thomas, King Street, South Shields.
1892 June 29	Rees, John, 5 Jesmond High Terrace, Newcastle.
1886 Feb. 24	Reid, Andrew, Akenside Hill, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Reid, William Bruce, Cross House, Upper Claremont, Newcastle.
1891 April 29	Reynolds, Charles H., Millbrook, Walker.
1894 May 30	Reynolds, Rev. G. M., Rector of Elwick Hall, Castle Eden, R.S.O.
1886 Nov. 24	Rich, F. W., Eldon Square, Newcastle.

Date of Election.

1894 Jan. 31	Richardson, Miss Alice M., Esplanade, Sunderland.
1891 July 29	Richardson, Frank, South Ashfield, Newcastle.
1895 July 31	Richardson, Mrs. Stansfield, Thornholme, Sunderland.
1892 Mar. 30	Riddell, Edward Francis, Cheeseburn Grange, near Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Ridley, John Philipson, Bank House, Rothbury.
1877	Ridley, Sir M. W., Bart., M.P., Blagdon, Northumberland.
1892 June 29	Ridley, Thomas Dawson, Willimoteswick, Coatham, Redcar.
1883 Jan. 31	Robinson, Alfred J., 136 Brighton Grove, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Robinson, James F., Burnopfield.
1884 July 30	Robinson, John, 7 Choppington Street, Newcastle.
1882	Robinson, William Harris, 20 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 25	Robson, John Stephenson, Sunnillaw, Claremont Gardens, Newcastle.
1877	Rogers, Rev. Percy, M.A., Simonburn Rectory, Humshaugh.
1893 Mar. 8	Rowell, George, 100 Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1893 April 26	Runciman, W., Fernwood House, Newcastle.
1895 Oct. 30	Rushton, George, 247 Hamilton Street, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Rutherford, Henry Taylor, Blyth.
1891 Dec. 23	Rutherford, John V. W., Briarwood, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 26	Ryott, William Henry, Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Sanderson, Richard Burdon, Warren House, Belford.
1893 Nov. 29	Savage, Rev. H. E., St. Hilda's Vicarage, South Shields.
1891 Sept. 30	Scott, John David, 4 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Scott, Owen Stanley, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.
1886 Feb. 24	Scott, Walter, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 June 27	Scott, Walter, Holly House, Sunderland.
1883 Feb. 28	Sheppee, Lieutenant-Colonel, Picktree House, Chester-le-Street.
1891 July 29	Sidney, Marlow William, Blyth.
1894 July 25	Silburn, Miss Jessie, 7 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Silburn, Reginald J. S., 7 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1888 Oct. 31	Simpson, J. B., Hedgefield House, Blaydon.
1895 May 29	Simpson, Robert Anthony, East Street, South Shields.
1889 May 29	Sisson, Richard William, 13 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Skelly, George, Alnwick.
1883 Jan. 25	Slater, The Rev. Henry, The Glebe, Riding Mill.
1891 Nov. 18	Smith, William, Gunnerton, Wark-on-Tyne.
1893 Mar. 29	Smith, William Arthur, 71 King Street, South Shields.
1883 June 27	South Shields Public Library (Thomas Pyke, Librarian).
1866 Jan. 3	*†Spence, Charles James, South Preston Lodge, North Shields.
1883 Dec. 27	Spencer, J. W., Millfield, Newburn, Newcastle.
1895 Nov. 27	Stamper, Mrs., Mountain View, Caldbeck, <i>viâ</i> Wigton.
1882	Stavenson, A. L., Holywell Hall, Durham.
1891 Jan. 28	Steel, The Rev. James, D.D., Vicarage, Heworth.

Date of Election.	
1883 Dec. 27	Steel, Thomas, 51 John Street, Sunderland.
1882	Stephens, Rev. Thomas, Horsley Vicarage, Otterburn, R.S.O.
1885 June 24	Stephenson, Thomas, 3 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1873	†Stevenson, Alexander Shannan, F.S.A. Scot., Oatlands Mere, Weybridge, Surrey.
1887 Mar. 30	Straker, Joseph Henry, Howdon Dene, Corbridge.
1880	Strangeways, William Nicholas, Breffin Villa, Eglinton Road, Donnibrook, Dublin.
1892 Jan. 27	Sutherland, Charles James, M.D., Dacre House, Laygate Lane, South Shields.
1879	Swan, Henry F., North Jesmond, Newcastle.
1866 Dec. 5	Swinburne, Sir John, Bart., Capheaton, Northumberland.
1887 Nov. 30	Tarver, J. V., Eskdale Tower, Eskdale Terrace, Newcastle.
1895 Feb. 27	Taylor, Rev. E. J., * F.S.A., St. Cuthbert's, Durham.
1860 Jan. 6	Taylor, Hugh, 5 Fenchurch Street, London.
1892 April 27	Taylor, Thomas, Chipchase Castle, Wark-on-Tyne.
1884 Oct. 29	Taylor, Rev. William, Catholic Church, Whittingham, Alnwick.
1883 Jan. 31	Tennant, James, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1888 Aug. 29	Thompson, Geo. H., Baileygate, Alnwick.
1892 June 29	Thomson, James, Jun., 22 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1891 Jan. 28	Thorne, Thomas, Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1888 Feb. 29	Thorpe, R. Swarley, Devonshire Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 Oct. 31	Todd, J. Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1888 Nov. 28	†Tomlinson, William W., 6 Bristol Terrace, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 28	Toovey, Alfred F., Ovington Cottage, Prudhoe.
1892 July 27	Toronto, University of (c/o Edward G. Allen, 28 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.)
1895 Dec. 18	Turner, S. C., 5 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1884 Mar. 26	Tweddell, George, Grainger Ville, Newcastle.
1889 Oct. 30	Vick, R. W., Strathmore House, West Hartlepool.
1894 May 30	Vincent, William, 18 Oxford Street, Newcastle.
1884 Feb. 27	Waddington, Thomas, Eslington Villa, Gateshead.
1891 Mar. 25	Walker, The Rev. John, Whalton Vicarage, Morpeth.
1890 Aug. 27	Wallace, Henry, Trench Hall, near Gateshead.
1887 Mar. 30	Watson, Joseph Henry, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1892 Oct. 26	Watson, Mrs. M. E., Burnopfield.
1887 Jan. 26	Watson, Thomas Carrick, 21 Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1895 May 29	Weddell, George, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1880	†Welford, Richard, Thornfield Villa, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1889 Nov. 27	Wheler, E. G., Swansfield, Alnwick.
1886 June 30	Wilkinson, Auburn, M.D., 14 Front Street, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	Wilkinson, The Rev. Ed., M.A., Whitworth Vicarage, Spennymoor.

* Elected originally Jan. 31, 1876, resigned 1887.

Date of Election.	
1893 Aug. 30	Wilkinson, William C., Dacre Street, Morpeth.
1891 Aug. 26	Williamson, Thomas, Jun., 39 Widdrington Terrace, North Shields.
1885 May 27	Wilson, John, Archbold House, Newcastle.
1894 Jan. 31	Wilson, William Teasdale, M.D., 8 Derwent Place, Newcastle.
1891 Sept. 30	Winter, John Martin, 17 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1886 Nov. 24	Wright, Joseph, Jun., Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Young, Hugh W., F.S.A. Scot., 27 Lauder Road, Edinburgh.

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Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, The, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, The (c/o Robert Cochraue, 7 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin).

Royal Society of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen, The

Royal Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden.

Royal Society of Norway, The, Christiania, Norway.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, The (*Secretary and Editor*, James Hardy, LL.D., Oldcambus, Cockburnspath, N.B.)

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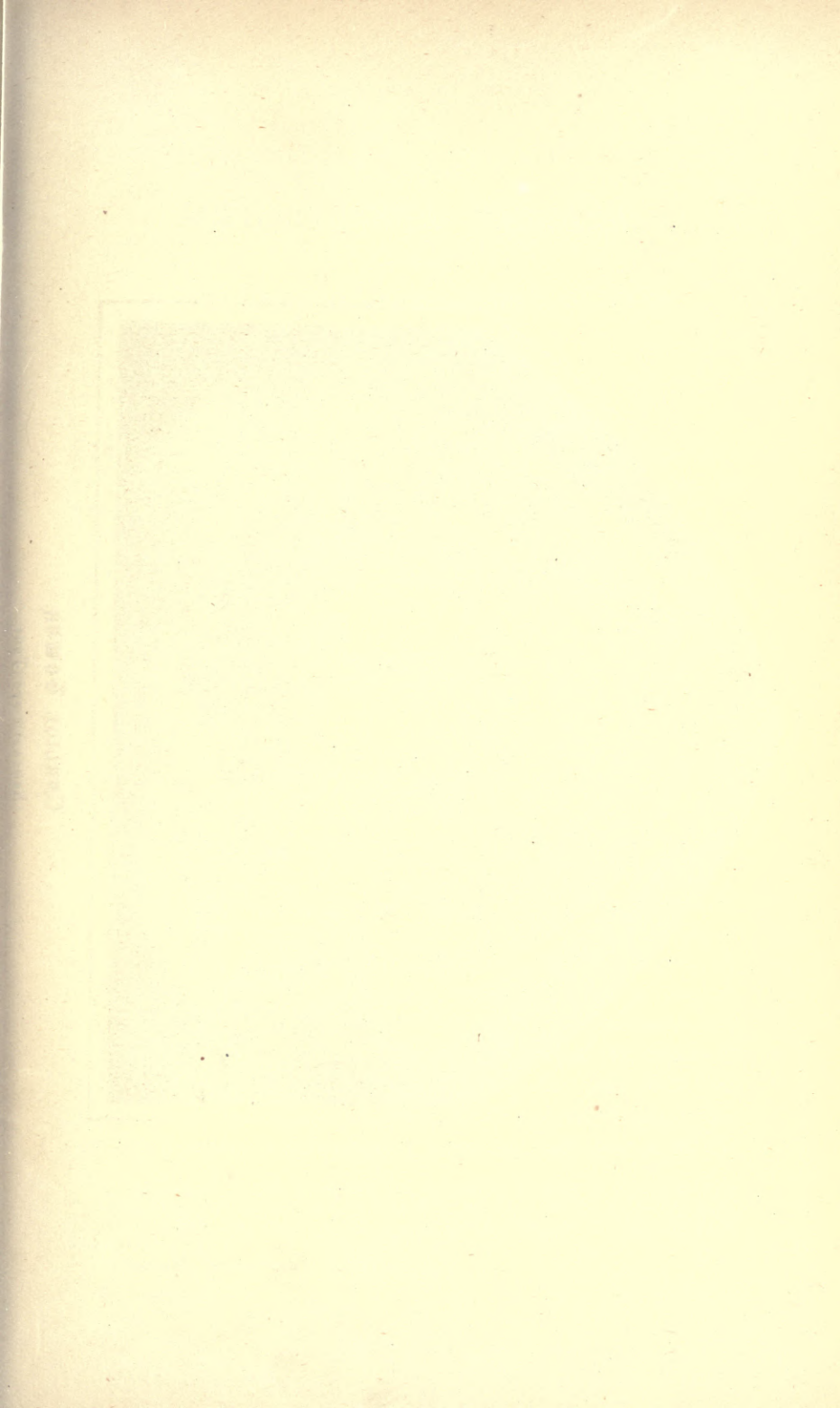
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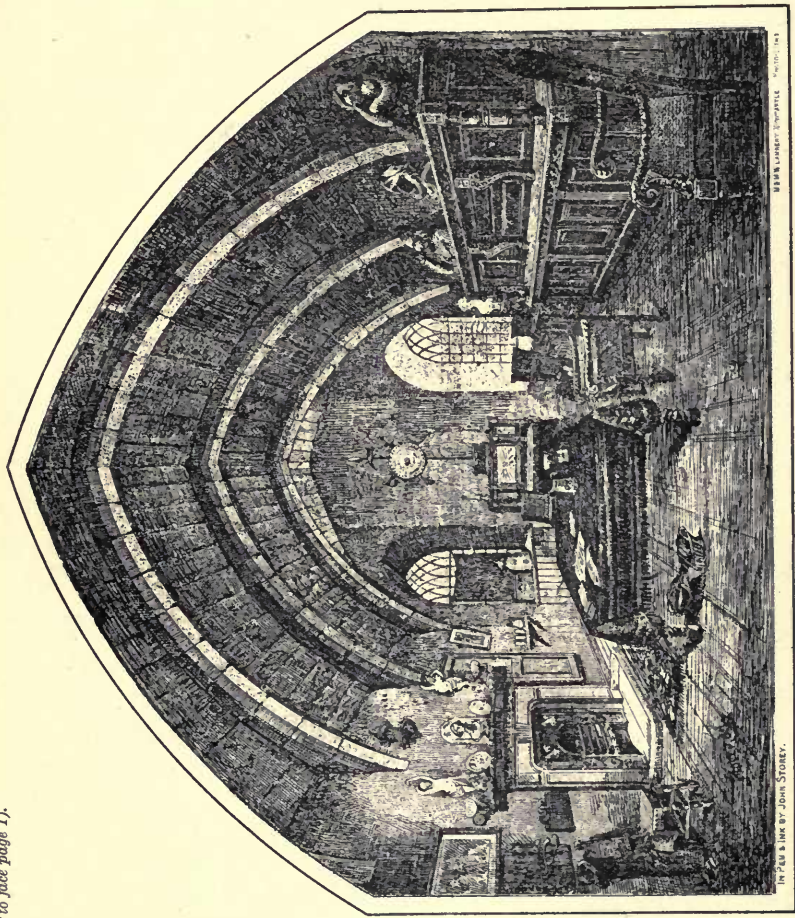
XXX THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

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CARLIOL TOWER.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I.—THE WALLS OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

BY SHERITON HOLMES.

[Read on the 29th May, 1895.]

HISTORICAL NOTES.

THE early history of the town walls of Newcastle-upon-Tyne is of a very fragmentary character, and by no means conclusive as to the time when they were built.

The earliest mention of them occurs in the *Rhyming Chronicle* of Hardyng, in the time of Henry the sixth, who says, alluding to king William the Second :—

‘The towne to builde, and walle as did append,
He gave theim ground and golde ful great to spend,
To builde it well, and wall it all aboute.’

Hardyng, however, is a very unreliable authority.

In his *History of Newcastle* Brand states that in the charter granted to the town, dated the 28th of January, 1216, by king John, express mention occurs of the walls ; but there is no note of this in the digest of the charter printed in 1817 by John Clark in his *Newcastle Remembrancer*.¹

In 1291 Edward the first was petitioned by the good men of Newcastle to grant a sum of money and a licence for the building of a wall round the town, which was granted accordingly.² He also, by a charter, dated at York, December 20th, 1299, granted the town of Pampedon (Pandon) to the burgesses and good men of Newcastle, and by a grant dated September 18th, 1280, he allowed the society of Black Friars to make a postern-gate through the town wall, then newly built, at the west side of the town, for the purpose of communication with a portion of their property which had been severed by the

¹ Brand, vol. ii. p. 136, gives the date of John's charter as 1217, the year after that king died, though at page 2 of vol. i. he dates it the preceding year, viz., 1216. The date 1217 is also given to the charter in the *Newcastle Remembrancer*, p. 11.

² *Newcastle Remembrancer* p. 12.

building of the wall, but with the reservation that if found necessary for the security of the town the sheriff of Northumberland should at any time have power to build it up. They afterwards, in 1312, got permission from Edward the second to make a drawbridge of wood, five feet broad, over the new fosse of the town, with a similar provision for removal in case of imminent danger.

Brand states that 'in a record, dated May 26th, 1307, the building anew of the wall of Newcastle, on the side towards the east, occurs: this was, in all probability, occasioned by the union of Pampendon, or Pandon, with that town, by the charter of Edward I., dated Dec. 20th, 1299.'³ He also states that 'among the writings preserved in the hutch, or common treasury of Newcastle, A.D. 1565, was one intitled "A grant for building the walls of the town."' The original is now lost, and the date has not been transmitted.⁴

Leland, in his *Itinerary*, p. 114, vol. v., tells us that 'the waulles of Newcastle were begun in King *Edwarde* the firste Day, as I have harde, by this Occasion. A great riche Man of *Newcastelle* was taken Prisoner by the *Scottes* owt of the Town self as it is reportid. Wherapon he was raunsomid for a greate Sum: and returning home he began to make a Waulle on the Ripe of *Tyne* Ryver from *Sandehille* to *Pandon* Gate, and beyound in to the Towne agayne the *Augustine-Freres*.' He afterwards says the walls were not entirely finished until Edward the third's time. This king repaired the walls during his residence in the town in 1334.⁵

After the walls had been built the town was apportioned into twenty-four wards, which were named after the gates and towers the defence of which devolved upon them. Full particulars of these are given in the histories of Bourne and Brand.

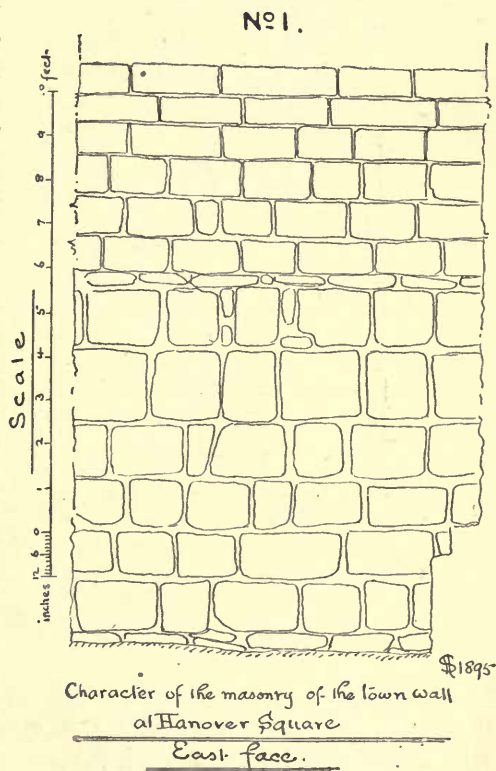
The evidence of age afforded by the walls themselves is not of a very definite kind, though they seem to present broad lines of the character of building adopted at different periods, and if this be taken in conjunction with other important buildings of the town, a sequence seems probable. Thus the walling of the keep of the castle, built in 1172-7, is of coursed work, with the stones very long in proportion to their depth. The Black gate masonry is also of a somewhat

³ Brand's *Newcastle*, vol. i. p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3n.

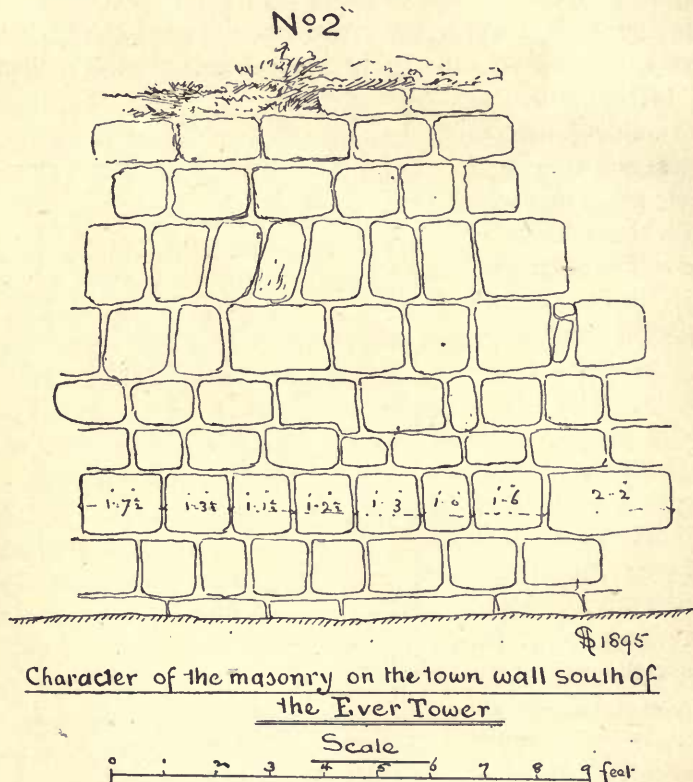
⁵ MS. in the Bodleian library, Oxford. Bernard's catalogue, p. 86.

similar character,⁶ whereas the masonry of the walls generally partakes of what may be termed a cubical character, the stones being more or less square on their faces and interspaced at intervals with upright stones much deeper on the face than their length of bed, and generally built with the quarry bedding reversed, that is plumb instead of being horizontal. If then the style of building at any particular time prevailed generally in the town, it follows that the walls had chiefly, if not wholly, been built after the date of the Black gate which is attributed to 1247-50, after the longwork had gone out of use and the cubical kind was introduced. With the exception of the walling of the portions in St. Andrew's churchyard, the masonry of the walls throughout (excepting where rebuilt or heightened) is of the cubical kind, though from evidence afforded by the wall in Hanover square, and particularly by that at the corner tower, the longwork would seem to have again come into use. In the latter the base and wall adjoining are of cubical stones, whereas the turret above is in longwork, and at Hanover square (see diagram no. 1), where the wall has been built at three several times, the longwork overlies the cubical.



⁶ In his paper on the Castle (see *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. iv. p. 124) Mr. Longstaffe states that the front of the Black gate is of the debased style of James the first's time. This, I think, is not so, the masonry being of the same character as that of the Early English work below but with more recent windows inserted.

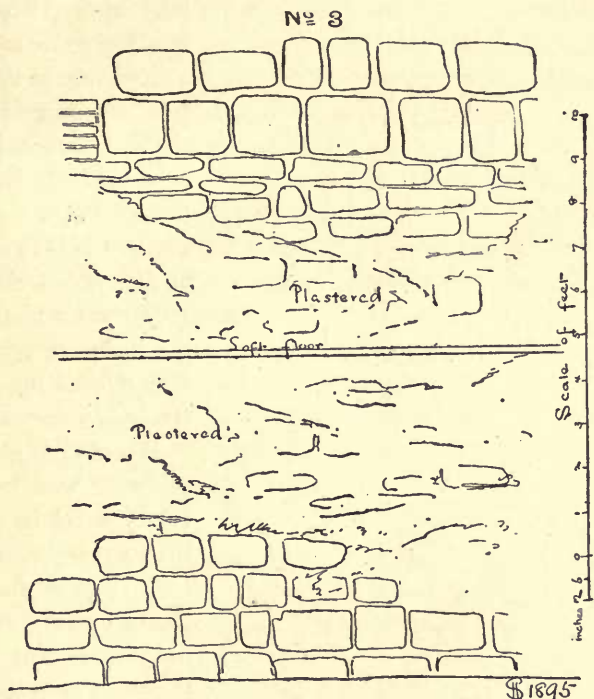
In this the first three courses from the top seem to be comparatively late work, long-bedded and close-jointed, the next three similar to the cubical below but more scientifically built, and the lower portion, down to the rubble foundation, being of the wide-jointed cubical character which prevails generally in the walls. Diagram no. 2 is characteristic



of the west walls, where not rebuilt, from near Westgate street to the Ever tower, beyond which through the churchyard there is a marked difference.

Diagrams nos. 3 and 4 (see pages 5 and 6) are portions of the north face of the east section of wall in St. Andrew's churchyard. In this the lowest masonry is of a very rude, ill-coursed, and wide-jointed kind which becomes worse upwards, until near the top we get to the true cubical masonry. Bourne was of opinion, from a comparison

of the masonry, that this portion of the wall was the first built, and in this I am inclined to coincide. The inner or south face of the western portion of this wall is built of rubble work with little attempt at coursing, and from the sharpness of the punch- and pick-marks I am led to think that it has been rebuilt in very much later times.

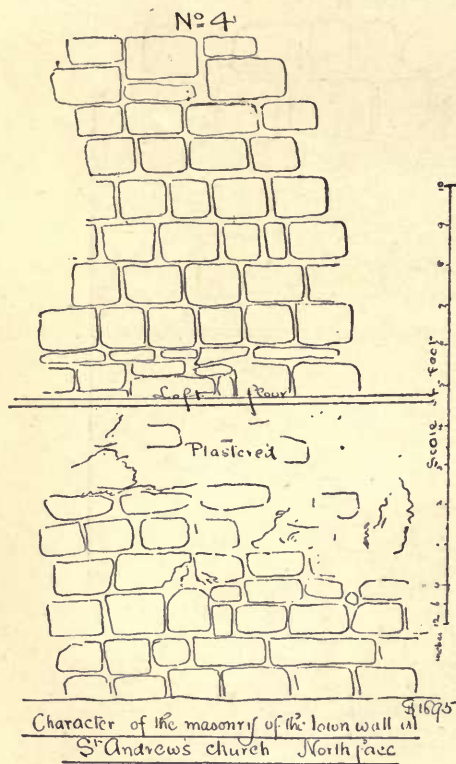


Character of the masonry of the town wall at
St. Andrew's church. North face

The inner face of the other portion of the wall approaching New gate has also been chiefly rebuilt with old material, though underneath the turret and beyond it in the lower portion is a piece of original cubical work, but with the stones of a smaller character than those in the west walls.

The remaining portion of the inner castle wall extending westward from the postern on the castle stairs, is of the same character of masonry as the west walls, and must have been built about the same time, or at a later date than the keep or even the Black gate, without

it can be proved that the cubical masonry preceded the long-bedded work, which I think improbable. Mr. Longstaffe supposed this wall might have formed a portion of Rufus's work, but the cubical character of it would bring it to a later date if the succession of masonry character I have sketched holds good. And this seems to be strengthened



by a reference to the keep where it may be noticed that on the inner face of the gate tower the wall has been heightened or rebuilt up to the level of the modern addition of 1813 by work of the cubical character very similar to that of the inner castle wall before alluded to, and to the town walls generally.

It seems probable that the walls were built, as money could be got for the purpose, between the beginning of the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth, but it is quite possible that a portion might have been built in John's reign, and if so,

I think, it would be the more northerly section of them.

The width of the town wall above the base plinth varies considerably. At the west walls and in Hanover square it is six feet ten inches wide. At the Wall Knoll tower the wall is seven feet two inches wide on the west side, but eight feet six inches on the East or Sally-port gate side, and this is also the width of the western portion of the wall in St. Andrew's churchyard.

At sundry times the walls appear to have been seriously damaged or suffered to get out of order, for, from time to time the kings were petitioned for money, or easement of payments, by the town, to enable the walls and bridges to be repaired.

In 1386 there was an assignment by Richard the second to the mayor and bailiffs to take workmen for repairing the walls of the town.⁷ In 1403 Henry the fourth granted to the mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, all fines and forfeitures for the reparation of the walls and bridge of that town,⁸ and in 1527 mention occurs of an annuity of £20 granted by king Henry the eighth for the support of the walls and bridge. For his aid in procuring this grant Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, bart., was presented with a silver basin and ewer of the value of £30.⁹ The walls were much damaged during the remarkable siege, and at the taking of the town by storm, in the year 1644. There was afterwards a grant from Parliament of the sum of £2,564 for repairing them.¹⁰ On June 17th, 1667, the walls, gates, and drawbridges were repaired by order of the Common Council, and in 1745 several houses, erections, buildings, and other obstructions near the walls were pulled down when the rebellion occurred in that year.

AUTHORITIES.

For information as to the condition of the walls at various periods, and the appearance of the towers and gateways before they were destroyed, I am indebted to the following authorities:—

A MS. drawing of the town in 1590, preserved in the British Museum, and republished in the *Archaeologia Aeliana* (4to series), vol. iii. p. 124, by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

Speed's map of Newcastle of 1610.

A MS. *Description of the walls* in 1638, preserved in the Record Office, London, and reproduced in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xii. p. 230.

Corbridge's map of Newcastle, 1723.

Bourne's map of Newcastle, 1736.

Bucks' view of 1743.

⁷ Aubone MS.

⁸ Common Council books.

⁹ Randall's MSS. Historical Events.

¹⁰ Brand, vol. i. p. 4.

An undated view of the town from Gateshead, in my possession.

Halton's map of 1770.

Brand's map of 1788.

Wood's map of 1827.

Mackenzie's *History* of 1827.

Oliver's maps of 1830 and of 1844.

M. A. Richardson's *Local Historian's Table Book*, 1843.

Sykes's *Local Records*.

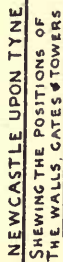
REFERENCE TO THE PLAN.

GATES.

Number on Plan.		Number on Plan.	
2	Close gate.	25	Sally-port.
8	Forth gate.	24	Pandon gate.
10	West gate.	26	Sand gate.
16	New gate.	27	Bridge gate.
19	Pilgrim gate.		
TOWERS.			
1	River side tower.	14	Ever tower.
3	White Friars tower.	15	Andrew tower.
4	Denton or Neville tower.	17	Bertram Momboucher tower.
5	West Spital tower.	18	Ficket tower.
6	Stank tower.	20	Carloli tower.
7	Gunner tower.	21	Plummer tower.
9	Pink tower.	22	Austin tower.
11	Durham tower.	23	Corner tower.
12	Heber or Herber tower.	25	Wall Knoll tower.
13	Morden tower.		

GENERAL SCHEME OF DEFENCE.

The general scheme of defence consisted of an ashlar-faced wall of stone about twelve feet high on the inside and from six feet ten inches to eight feet six inches wide, with a fosse or ditch on its outer side twenty-two yards wide and fifteen feet deep. Gateways were erected for the principal roads, and towers at convenient distances apart, with, between them, turrets, or, as Bourne names them, 'garrets,' which formed covered sheltering places on the top of the walls. These were thirteen feet in length, with an interior passage way three feet wide, loopholed on its outer side. The top, which was reached by a stone stairway on the inner face, had corbelled out parapets, which were ornamented by figures of warriors carved



in stone. Of these turrets only three now remain in a comparatively perfect condition, one of them between the Herber and Morden towers, one near the Ever tower, and the third in St. Andrew's churchyard.

The towers were generally of the form shown in the Durham and Herber specimens now remaining, and were horse-shoe shaped on their outer face, projecting their full size beyond the wall. The interior was rectangular, with three arrow slits, and the space arched over by a pointed and ribbed Early English arch. Stone stairways led to the roof, which had an embattled parapet. On the outer face of the tower there were heavily projecting corbels two and three stones in depth, which appear to have carried a shield round the outside to protect the defenders whilst throwing down stones or other defensive objects on the attackers below.

But the towers were not invariably of this form. The one at the river face near the Close appears to have been rectangular. The White Friars was octangular, with a circular chamber on the top. The Wall Knoll tower was nearly square, and the Corner tower was after the pattern of the turrets, merely a covered passage on the wall top.

The late George Bouchier Richardson, in a paper read by him at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute held at Newcastle in 1852, said there had existed seventeen of the circular bastions. That of these six were possessed of two obtusely arched apartments with bold ribs. Access to the first of these vaulted apartments was from the ground, and to the second by a winding stair leading out of the first, though in many cases they were provided with stairs leading at once from the military way on the inside of the curtain to the upper chamber. Nine of the bastions had but one apartment, but that of larger size than the others, upon the ribbing of which rested the platform which, in these cases, was always gained from the curtain wall and not by an internal stair. He alludes to the Herber and Pink towers as being good examples of the latter, and says that the single chambered bastions were all placed in successive order on the north-west quarter of the fortification, which would embrace the White Friars, Denton, West Spital, Stank, Gunner, Pink, Durham, Heber, and Morden, leaving the Ever, Andrew, Momboucher, Ficket, Carliol, and Plummer to make up the six

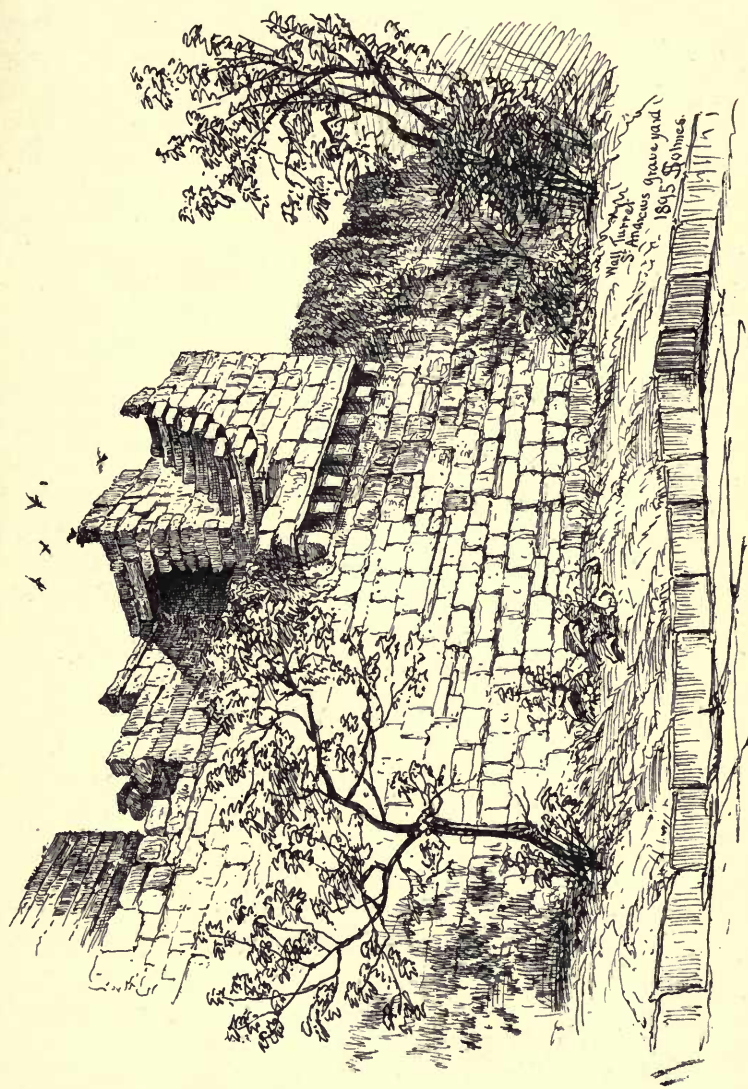
which had two arched chambers. At the time when Mr. Richardson resided in Newcastle there was doubtless much more opportunity of gaining accurate information concerning the walls than now exists, and as he sketched them a great deal his record is deserving of every consideration, but I am not sure that he is strictly accurate. When the Carloli tower was being pulled down I made some notes and find that the intermediate floor was a timber one, and not arched. I have, however, seen a sketch by him of the Austin tower, which shows both chambers arched and ribbed, the lower arch being pointed, and the top segmental. It is therefore probable that his distinction of the number of single chamber and double chamber bastions or towers is correct.

The main outlets were the Close gate, West gate, New gate, Pilgrim gate, Sand gate, and Bridge gate which spanned the passage way along the Tyne bridge near its northern end. Besides these there were several openings of less moment. Thus, a postern existed at the Denton tower, called the White Friars' postern, where the wall turns abruptly westward, and a gateway at the Forth walk, leading to a pleasure ground of that name, surrounded by trees, which was the property of the town. The Black Friars had an opening between the Herber and Morden towers, and a little beyond is another ancient doorway, three feet wide, now used as an entrance to the bowling green, but I find no historical reference to it. Then there were the gateway at the Wall Knoll tower, known as the Sally-port, and seven smaller openings through the wall along the quay. Bourne and Corbridge's maps show a larger opening or gateway in the wall along the quay, opposite the Broad chare, which may have been opened out at a later period, as the prospect drawing of 1638 does not show it.

At an early date, generally during the sixteenth century, the towers, and also some of the gates, became the meeting places of the various town's companies, who, as a rule, removed the original castellated top, and added a story to the tower to form a meeting hall.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WORKS.

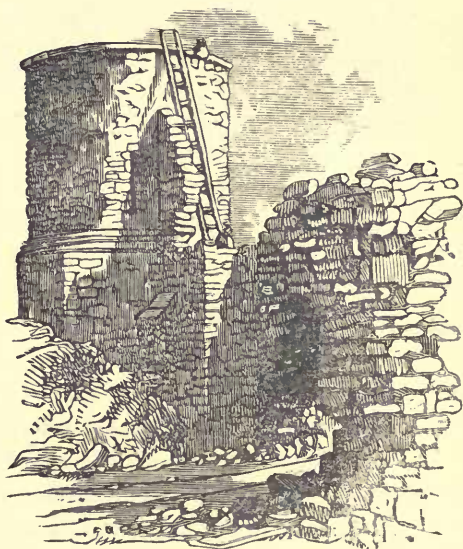
Commencing at the west side, where the walls abut upon the river, and following their course round the town, there was, firstly, a tower at the river side which, in Bucks' view and on Bourne's map, is shown



square in form, with an embattled top. Part of it remained in 1789, and Brand states that it was used successively by the Companies of House Carpenters and Sail Makers.

The Close gate came next, of which a representation occurs in the *Table Book*, though, as stated, only a 'design from various sources.' This view shows a high tower-like structure, three stories in height above the archway, which is single, and pointed in form. When the Tyne bridge was washed away in 1771 the prisoners were removed from the Magazine tower upon it to the Close gate. The gate was much damaged in 1644, was repaired by order of the Council in 1648, and finally pulled down in 1797.

From this point the wall rose steeply up the bank to the White Friar tower, which from 1614, was the place of meeting of the Society of Wallers, Bricklayers, and Plasterers, and also the Company of Mettors, who occupied the basement. There are several views of this tower in Richardson's *Table Book*, from which it seems to have had an upper story, but the



WHITE FRIAR TOWER.

views differ so widely that from them alone it is difficult to determine its shape. He also gives a 'restored' view of it, which agrees with his description, that on clearing away the ground from its base they came upon the lower apartment, which had been converted into an ice-house in 1780. This lower story, he says, was found to be octangular, and the superstructure circular.¹¹ Corbridge's map shows it hexagonal. It was occupied by the Company of Masons

¹¹ *Table Book*, vol. v. p. 230.

before they removed to the Plummer tower in 1742. The wall near this tower was breached by the Scottish army in 1644, and the tower was taken down in 1840. When removing it, several Roman and other coins, and two Roman altars, were found,¹² also in the



heart of the wall a mason's setting pinch was brought to light. The remains of a human skeleton were found underneath the wall, and another at a little distance from it. Cannon balls and other things were also dug up.¹³

Between the White Friars and the Denton or Nevil towers the wall had two turrets upon it. The Denton tower seems to have been of the normal horse-shoe character, and beside it the White Friars had a postern gate, an illustration of which is given in the *Table Book*, vol. iii. p. 51. The Company of Wallers, Bricklayers, and Plasterers had their meeting place in this tower after they left the White Friars tower. After passing two turrets we reach the West Spital tower, of which there is an etching in T. M. Richardson's *Memorials*, where it is stated that the tower derives its name from St. Mary's hospital, and was thought to have been built by that charity, as in 1290 they obtained a patent for their postern through the town wall. The tower was removed at the time of the demolition of the hospital in 1844.

Then occur two turrets leading up to the Stank tower, of which tower I fail to discover any record.

¹² These are described in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 15.

¹³ *Table Book*, vol. v. p. 200.

Two more intermediate turrets lead to the Gunner tower, which in 1821 was converted into a hall for the Company of Slaters and Tylers. During the alterations many coins of the reign of Edward the first were found,¹⁴ which might lead to the supposition that this part of the walls was built with the money he granted for the purpose of walling the town.

The Gunner tower was deprived of its top in 1885, when the offices of the Tyne Improvement Commissioners were built, but the base of it yet remains.

One wall turret and then the Pink tower, of which there is an etching by T. M. Richardson, dated 1826, which shows it very similar to the Herber tower, afterwards described. It does not appear to have had an added story at that time, but at the date of its removal it had a room above, which is shown by an engraving of it in the Society's *Proceedings*, vol ii. p. 22, and also in a drawing I made at the time of its demolition. Between the Gunner and Pink towers was a gateway leading to the 'Forth,' which was built in 1715, and removed in 1811.

Another turret and then the West gate. Of this there is an engraving in Brand's *History*, and an etching by Wm. Pybus in the *Memorials of Old Newcastle*. These show the opening to have been arched segmentally, but in the latter view the arch is pointed and ribbed. There was also a footway passage on the north side which was opened out in 1782. Two heavy buttress towers flanked the arch on the west side. The gate was removed in 1812. Brand, following Grey, says this gate is said to have been built by Roger de Thornton, which, if correct, would give the proper meaning to the West gate in the rhyme as applied to the roadway and not to the masonry structure.

'In at the West gate came Thornton in,
With a happen hapt in a ram's skynn.'

A footway was opened out on the north side of this gate in 1782. It was formerly used as a prison for unruly apprentices.

There were two turrets between this gate and the Durham tower, two between the Durham and Herber, one between the Herber and Ever, and two from that to the Andrew tower, and one beyond to the

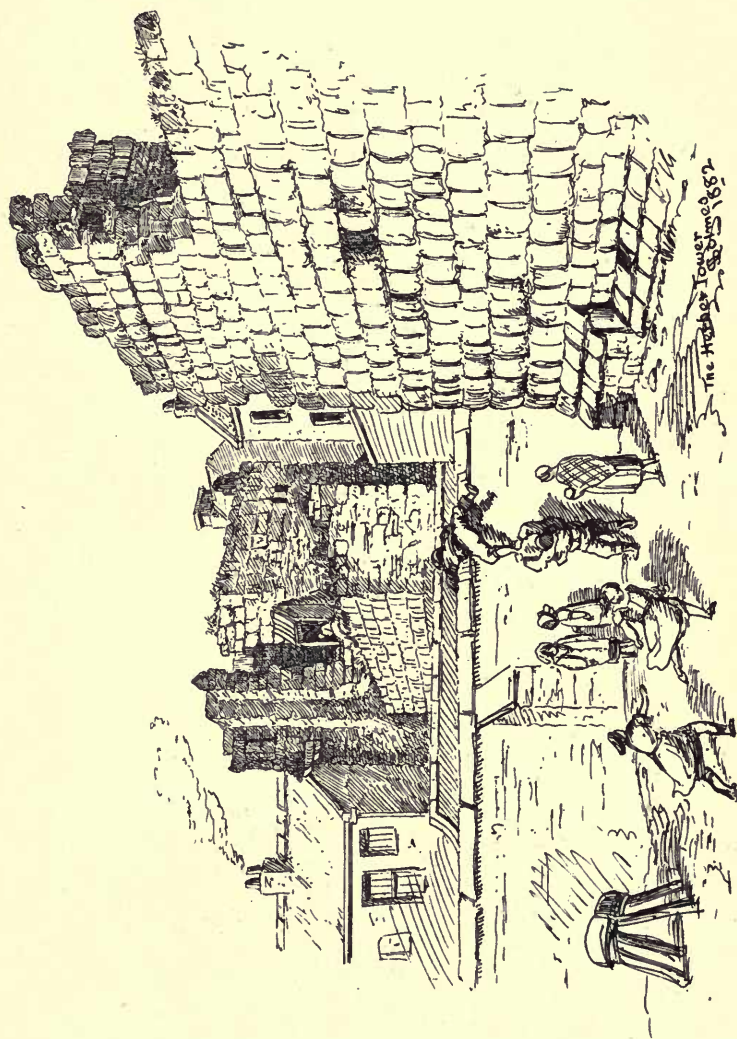
¹⁴ *Table Book*, vol. iii. p. 220.

New gate. The Durham tower now stands in almost a complete state, excepting that the parapet has been destroyed. It is roofed by a pointed Early English arch with three ribs. The interior is rectangular, exterior horse-shoe shaped, with projecting corbels. There has not been any addition to its top. Its present office is a coal and lumber room for the adjoining school, and a doorway has been broken through the outer wall to give access to it.

We now reach the most interesting tower extant, namely, the Heber or Herber tower, which, with very trifling alterations, is now in its original condition, and forms a typical example of the form in which the towers generally were constructed.

On referring to the drawings of it accompanying this paper it will be seen to be of horse-shoe shape, twenty-three feet six inches diameter, projecting beyond the outer face of the wall, with a rectangular interior, sixteen feet eight inches by ten feet, having three splayed openings to arrow slits on the exterior face. This chamber is roofed over by a pointed Early English arch and three projecting ribs. A stairway leads from the interior to the top of the wall and from there to the roof of the tower, which has a flagged floor upon a steepish incline, and is surrounded by its original parapet, which has three splayed embrasures, the returning angles being ornamented by carved heads. On the outer face, at a depth of two feet six inches below the floor level on the top, are corbel stones, two in depth, projecting four feet from the wall, for the purpose of carrying an outer parapet or shield to protect the defenders when casting down stones or other missiles upon those attacking. This tower was the meeting place of the Company of Felt-makers, Curriers, and Armourers. There is a view of it in the *Table Book* (vol. iii. p. 29), dated 1826, which shows it much in the condition in which it remains at the present time. It is now occupied as a blacksmith's shop.

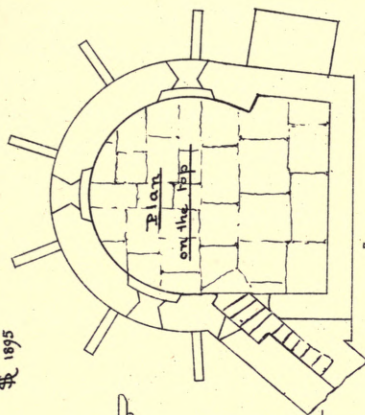
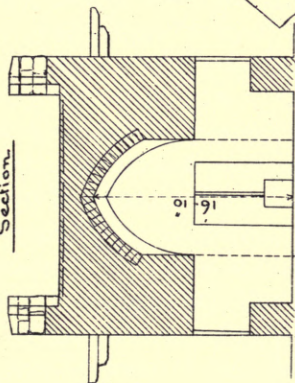
The Morden tower has been similar to the Herber, but had an upper chamber added in 1619 to form the meeting place of the Company of Plumbers, Glaziers, and Pewterers. It was further added to in 1700 when the company built an inner face of brickwork to it. Suspended from a bracket in the hall was a cannon ball painted and gilded which has recently been presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and is now in the Black gate museum. This was pro-



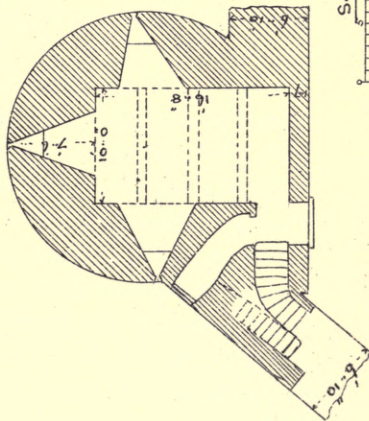
HEBER TOWER

1895

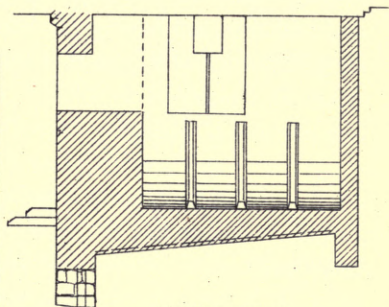
Section



Plan



Section



Scale of feet
0 5 10 15 20

bably a relic of the siege by the Scottish army in 1644. It was found embedded in the wall when the alterations were made. The two chambers of the tower are now occupied as dwellings.¹⁵

Between the Herber and Morden towers there are two ancient arched openings through the wall. The larger one, five feet wide, would I think be for the Black Friars' postern.

The Ever tower has been greatly mutilated, the arch torn away and a three-storied stone building placed upon it. It forms a portion of the tanning premises adjoining, and the ground has been raised on the outer face which converts it into a cellar. Notwithstanding its filthy condition it was recently the abode of a well-known character who went by the name of 'Hairy Nanny.' Formerly it was the hall of the Company of Colliers, Paviours, and Carriage-men.

Brand says: 'This was built by some of the ancient family of Eure, or Ever, lords of Kirkley, near the river Blyth, and barons of Witton, in the county of Durham.'¹⁶ So that the present name Ever would seem to be a perpetuation of the original pronunciation of the name Eure.

The Andrew tower was destroyed between the years 1827 and 1830. An etching of it by T. M. Richardson shows that it had not been added to. There is also a similar view of it in the *Table Book*, vol. ii. p. 256, dated 1818.

We now reach the most important fabric on the line of the wall, New gate, of which a great number of views are given in Brand's *History*, Richardson's etchings, and engravings in the *Table Book*. The original gate consisted of a massive tower, with semi-octangular buttresses at the angles, the opening being vaulted and diagonally ribbed. Previous to 1390 this was supplemented by the construction of a barbican and connecting walls on its northern front, which gave the name by which it was afterwards known, though, according to Brand, the original gateway bore the name of the Berwick gate. Above the archway of the later erection there were three ancient shields of arms, St. George's cross, the arms of England with fleurs-de-lis

¹⁵ By an ordinary of September 1, 1536, the Company of Goldsmiths was incorporated with the Plumbers, Glaziers, and Pewterers, but separated from them in 1717. Arms of Incorporated Companies.

¹⁶ Brand's *Newcastle*, vol. i. p. 12.

¹⁷ Compare maps of Wood and Oliver of these dates.

semée, and those of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and above these shields, in a pedimented niche, stood the statue of a king, supposed to be James the first, which, in its sadly decayed condition, occupies a place in the guard chamber of the castle. This portion of the northern façade appears to have been rebuilt in Jacobean times. In 1822 an Act of Parliament was obtained for its removal, which was immediately afterwards accomplished. In 1400, when Newcastle was made a county of itself, and took charge of its own prisoners, the towers of the older gate were used as a gaol. When the structure was destroyed the felons were removed to the cells of the county courts, and the debtors to the castle. In an account of the demolition of 1823, by M. A. Richardson, he says, 'By the end of May the greatest part of the barbican had been removed. In June the demolition of the east wing of the inner gate was commenced, and was speedily followed by the west wing (both erected between the years 1702-6), with the remains of the barbican. The original gate was thus nearly isolated.'¹⁸ There is considerable difficulty in reconciling the various views, and ascertaining what was meant by the wings. Some of the views show a flanking tower on the east side of the older building, and probably there would be a similar one on the west side. The view in the *Table Book*, vol. i. p. 402, appears to show them both, in which case they were flanking towers built on each side of the southern face of the older gateway. The *Table Book* proceeds to record that 'the portcullis which remained here until the final demolition of the gate, was the last existing in Newcastle. It was of oak, with spikes strongly shod with iron, and of an enormous weight.' 'In this portion were found many cannon balls of large size, and deep sunk into the wall.'¹⁹ In a footnote it states 'the portcullis is now at Blagdon.'

From New gate to the Bertram Momboucher tower there were two wall turrets, then three to the Ficket tower, and two more to Pilgrim gate.

The Momboucher tower is figured in the *Table Book*, vol. iii. p. 293, where the face of the tower seems to be in line with the outer face of the town wall, which is unlikely. This tower and the next one, with the connecting wall up to Pilgrim gate, were taken down in

¹⁸ *Table Book*, vol. iii. p. 272.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 273.

1824, for the formation of Blackett street, the stones being used for the sewer along that street. The Ficket tower, which occupied the site of the St. James's chapel portico, near the Grey monument, must, if Richardson's etching of it be a correct representation, have been in a state of complete dilapidation before it was pulled down. Corbridge's map shows a postern near this tower.

Pilgrim gate, so named, says Gray in his *Chorographia*, 'because of Pilgrims Lodging in that Street; and went out of that Gate to the Shrine of the Virgin *Mary* in *Gesmond*; to which Place, with great confluence and Devotion, people came from all parts of this Land, in that time of Superstition.'²⁰ In 1659, and again in 1716, this gate was repaired and 'beautified' by the Company of Joiners who held their meetings in it. Brand gives a view of the south front, and Richardson one of the north front of this gate. The roadway arch was very low, and carts had frequently to be partly unloaded to get through it.

The arch was pointed and ribbed, and there were footway openings on each side at some distance from the centre one. It was removed in 1802, and in pulling it down a cannon ball was found lodged in the masonry. The wall between Pilgrim gate and the Carliol tower was taken down in 1811.

From this tower forward there were three turrets to the Carliol tower, four to the Austin, two to the Plummer, one between that and the Corner tower, and one more to Pandon gate.

The Carliol tower was the meeting place of the Weavers' Company, who repaired it in 1682. In 1823 the building was considerably altered by the same company, and while the workmen were engaged in clearing away the accumulation of earth over the ditch on the outside of the tower several skeletons were found huddled together, and in the skull of one of them was a cannon ball. A twenty-four pound cannon ball was also found lodged two and a half feet deep in the wall.

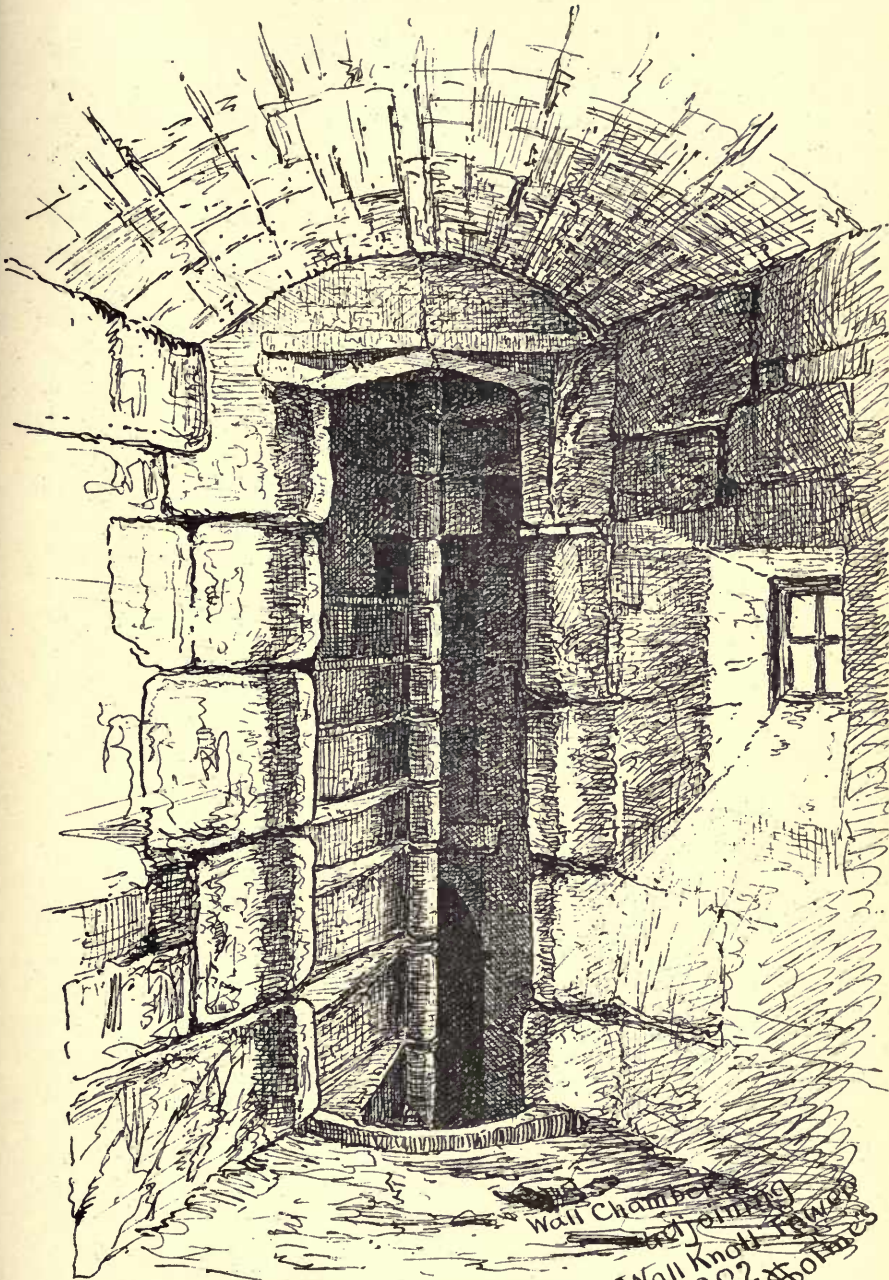
Richardson gives an etching of the front of the tower which shows it much in the condition it was in at the time of its demolition in 1880, when it was removed to make way for the Public Library building. The builders of the earlier portion, erected for a Mechanics' Institute, respected the ancient relic, and adapted its shape to the

²⁰ *Chorographia* (Newcastle, 1649), p. 8.

preservation of the tower; but to make way for the buildings added for the library it was swept away entirely. In the *Table Book* are representations of it. A front view in 1800 before it had the pointed windows inserted, and a view of the outer portion in 1783 show the wall with its three turrets along to Pilgrim gate. This tower, though of the prevailing horse-shoe form, seems to have been of a more imposing character than the others, and had been divided by an intermediate floor which may have been original. The upper arched chamber, for some years the meeting place of a musical and fine arts club, under the name of the 'Bats,' was barrel-arched with projecting ribs. Of this there exists a drawing by the late John Storey, of which the frontispiece is a reproduction (see plate I). A staircase tower at the west angle contained a newel stair communicating with the upper chamber and the roof.

The Plummer tower was granted to the Company of Masons in 1742, previously to which it bore the name of the Cutlers' tower or Carlel-croft tower. In 1750 the masons built an ornate ashlar front of classic design to the tower, but in their alterations they destroyed the original arched top. The outer circular face has evidently been altered at various times, loopholes having been enlarged to window size and again blocked up. In making their alterations the Masons' Company had apparently used two kinds of stone, one for the flat ashlar face work, including doors and the lower windows, the other for their enrichments in pilasters, cornices, etc., so that whilst the former remains in sound and good condition the latter is in a state of utter decay from weather action. Attached to this tower is a short length of the town wall within which is an arched chamber which, at one time, had been entered from the tower. This, I think, has been a similar chamber to the one at the Wall Knoll afterwards described, but it has been widened by digging into the wall faces on each side. T. M. Richardson gives an etching of this tower much in its present condition. The two chambers are now occupied as dwellings.

The Austin tower. This tower evidently had its name from its vicinity to the house of Austin Friars. It has been, successively, the hall of the Millers and Coopers, and afterwards of the Ropers who repaired it in 1698. It was taken down to make room for the terminal station of the Newcastle and North Shields railway in 1836



Wall Chamber
adjoining
The Wall Knott Tower
1882 \$1000

or 7, as the parliamentary plan of that railway appears to show it standing in 1835. The wall then descended to the Corner tower, from which originally it would go direct to the river, leaving the town of Pandon outside on the east. This, although one of the wards of the town,²¹ seems never to have been a tower proper, but merely an L-shaped turret with a covered way through it, and the top corbelled out on both sides for parapets. It is now in a very ruinous condition.

Pandon gate comes next. It was occupied by the Company of Barber Surgeons until 1648 when their new hall in the Manors was built. The only illustration I can find of it is in the *Table Book*, which is stated to be from a drawing by the late Rev. Mr. Hornby. This shows a single archway for traffic, and near the top a curiously flat arched opening with a corresponding smaller semicircular opening on the opposite face. The hall windows must have faced north as there are no windows shown on the south side of the gate. The gateway was defended by folding iron gates, but had no portcullis. It was pulled down in 1795. A further description of the structure will be found in the *Table Book*, vol ii. p. 374.

Between Pandon gate and the Wall Knoll the wall had one turret, and four between that and Sand gate.

The Wall Knoll tower (plate VI.), attributed by Grey and Bourne to Roman times, is only, in its oldest portion, coeval with the town wall which abuts upon it at each side. This is clearly shown by the similarity and continuity of the masonry, and by the angular bond stones connecting the two, which are cut to form the angle of junction. The original tower is a rectangular building, twenty-eight feet long by twenty-five feet six inches wide, with an interior room, eighteen feet ten inches by fourteen feet nine inches, loopholed on the three outer faces, and vaulted over by a flat pointed stone arch. In the south-west angle of the tower is a newel stairway which formerly led to the embattled roof, and at an intermediate height communicated, by means of an arched doorway, with a chamber in the town wall which was twelve feet long by three feet nine inches wide, lighted to the south by a small window. See plan (plate VII.). The tower base has been enlarged for the construction above it of a hall for the Society of Carpenters or Shipwrights, which was built in 1716 the

²¹ Account of the wards in the archives of the Corporation.

original top of the tower having been removed for the purpose. The whole building had a narrow escape from destruction in 1882, when the new roads were formed, and was much shaken and cracked at that time, but is now securely seated upon massive buttresses. The present occupant, Mrs. Isabella Gleghorn, informs me that a stairway leads down from the foot of the newel stair. This is now filled up, but might possibly have led to a lower chamber, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether, if so, there were any remains of Roman work in it. On the east side of the tower is an arched passage through the town wall, protected by folding doors, which was named the Sally-port. Another tower named the Habkin is mentioned in this district. It was allied with the Wall Knoll tower in the apportionment of the wards of the town.²² The reference on Bourne's map of the Wall Knoll tower names it the Carpenters' tower, Wall Knoll and Habkin tower.²³

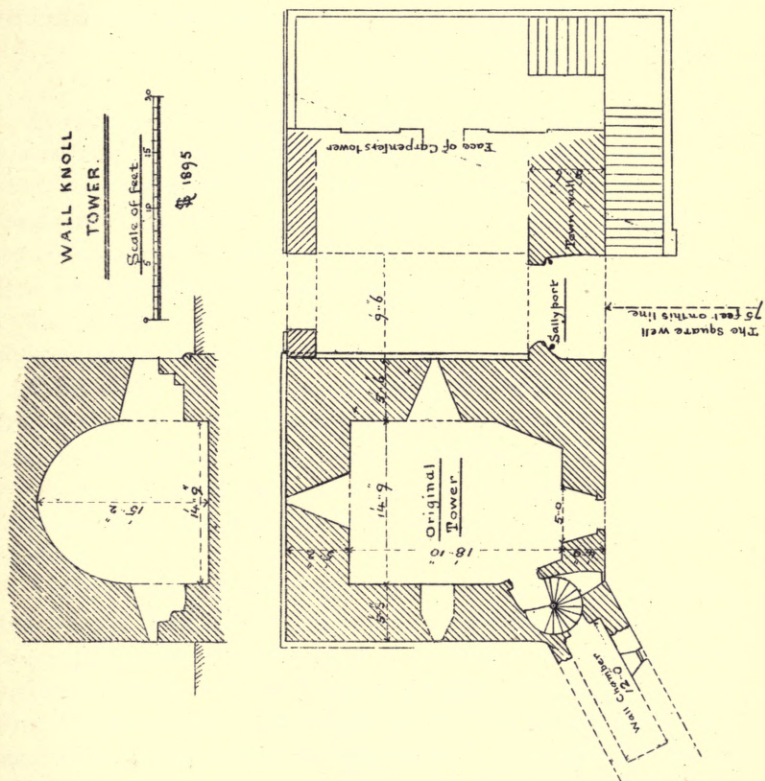
From this point the wall descended steeply to the Sand gate, of which there is an etching in Richardson's *Memorials* and a similar engraving in the *Table Book* showing a tower of two storeys over the archway with a footway opening on one side. It was taken down in 1798. From here the wall ran along the quay to the buildings near the end of Tyne bridge. It had seven openings in it of a small character, though Corbridge's and Bourne's maps show a larger opening or gateway at the foot of the Broad chare.²⁴ This portion of the wall was almost swept away in 1339 on the occasion of a heavy flood in the river when one hundred and sixty-seven lives were lost.²⁵ In 1762 the Corporation petitioned the Crown and got leave to take down the wall from Sand gate to the Sandhill and to use the stone in the re-erection of St. Ann's chapel, the ancient building having become ruinous. The Water gate stood at the north end of Tyne bridge. It is shown on Corbridge's and Bourne's maps, and from the latter appears to have been a hexagonal structure of stately proportions. The bridge had also two other towers or gateways upon

²² Brand's *Newcastle*, vol. i. p. 17 n. Could this have been the tower alluded to by Grey as the Roman tower?

²³ Could this have been the tower alluded to by Grey as the Roman tower?

²⁴ This larger opening is not shown on the MS. view of 1638. It was therefore probably constructed some time between that date and the time when Bourne wrote in 1736.

²⁵ *Table Book*, vol. i. p. 116.



it; the Magazine tower, which stood upon the third water pier from the north end, was erected in 1636 and taken down in 1771, and the Bishop of Durham's tower at the south end. The wall then continued on the river face along to the tower near the Close gate.

Leland's *Itinerary* alludes to the building of this portion of the wall, and Brand mentions that the wall continued along here. But on the MS. draught of the walls preserved in the London Record office it is clearly shown, extending from the Close tower to where houses are built on the river face, and beyond that it appears to form the foundations for these houses.

PRESENT CONDITION.

The present condition of the walls, etc., may be thus summarised. Commencing at the river side, where formerly stood a rectangular tower, the foundation walls of which I saw exposed in 1872, when a trench had been cut for the purpose of laying in pipes, but of which and the Close gate no traces now remain above ground. From the Close gate a portion of the wall in a ragged condition, but with some of the parapet work remaining, goes up the steep bank towards where stood the White Friar tower.

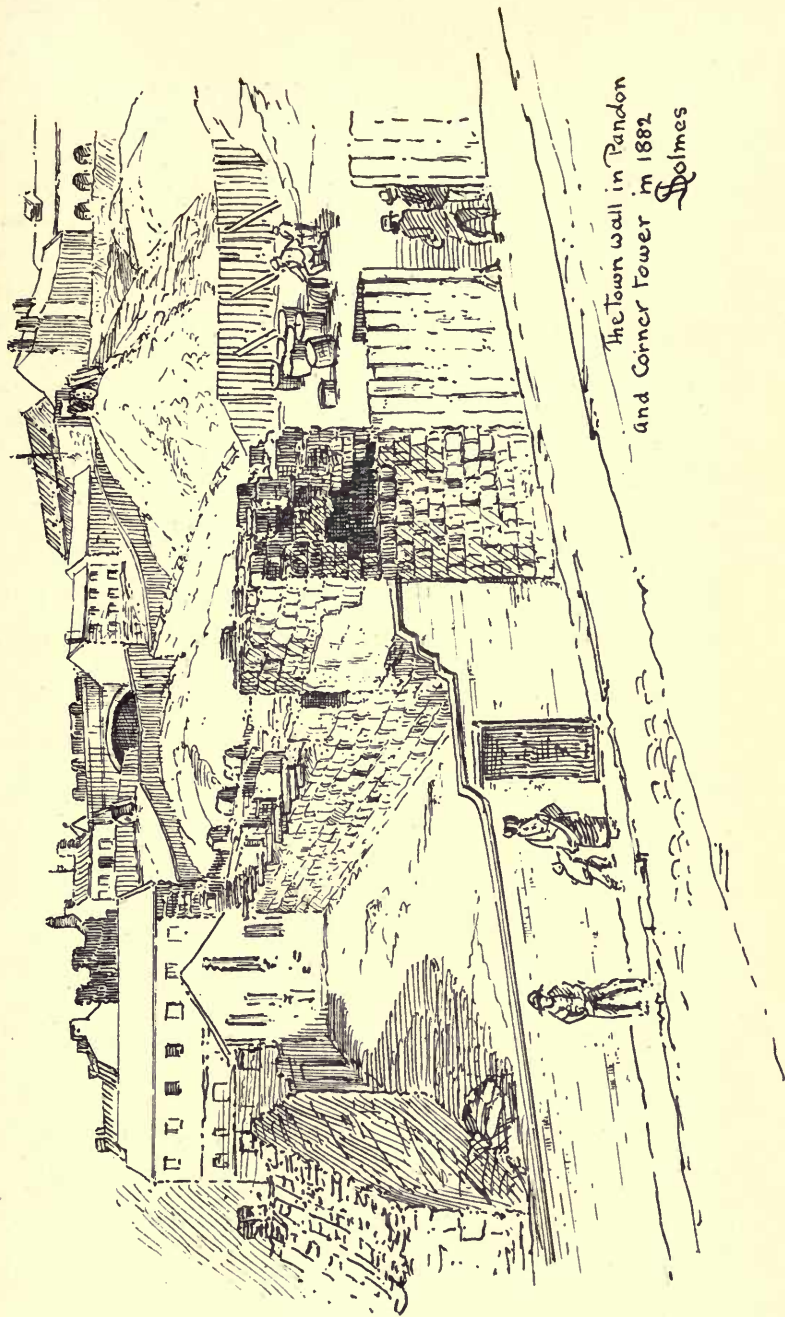
From a little beyond this tower, along the back of the Orchard street houses, the wall remains in very good condition, with its parapet standing where not incorporated with later buildings. Until within the last three years, when ground was required for station extension, there was much more of the wall in this length of it standing.

A considerable gap now occurs. The Denton, Stank, West Spital, Gunner, and Pink towers, with their connecting wall, having all disappeared, with the sole exception of the base of the Gunner tower, which yet occupies its position behind the office buildings of the River Tyne Commissioners. The Stank tower stood on the line of the eastern face of the Central Station portico. From near the site of the West gate to St. Andrew's churchyard there is an almost continuous length of the wall remaining in very good condition, broken only by openings for Stowell and Heron streets, and having its original loopholed parapet standing, though in it there are many evidences of alterations and rebuilding. In it are the Durham, Herber, Morden,

and Ever towers, previously described, and two of the wall turrets in a moderately complete state, also the two ancient arched passages through the wall. In St. Andrew's churchyard are two detached portions on each side of the site of the Andrew tower, the more westerly portion having upon it the remains of two of the turrets, which are shown in the engraving in Brand's *History of Newcastle*, and the other, along by the back of the baths building, a turret almost in a complete condition. The masonry of this portion of the wall bears evidence, in the character of the work, of having been almost rebuilt at a time much later than the date of the original work. Nothing now remains of the wall until reaching the Plummer tower at the foot of Croft street, the Momboucher and Ficket towers and their connecting wall along to Pilgrim gate having been swept away for the foundation of Blackett street, and beyond that to the Carliol tower for New Bridge street. Croft street occupies the forward position of the wall to the Plummer tower, which yet remains in its mutilated condition. Beyond this the railway and gaol works have cleared away all traces of the wall with the Austin tower down to the Corner tower, which yet stands, but in a sadly dilapidated condition and tottering to its fall. A portion of the wall a little further on forms the lower part of the end of a large warehouse. Then every trace is obliterated by the formation of the Pandon new roads, until reaching Wall Knoll tower on its commanding situation, rendered the more so from having been completely isolated and perched like an ancient sentinel up the top of its massive retaining buttresses. Beyond this point all trace of the walls must be sought for in history and that only.

REMOVALS FOR PANDON NEW ROADS.

Although nothing now remains beyond the works hitherto described, it may be of interest hereafter to know what did exist immediately previous to the destruction occasioned by the formation of the new roads in Pandon by the Corporation in the year 1881. When these works were about to be commenced I was requested by the society to keep watch over them, and to note anything of interest which might be revealed during their progress. This I did from time to time, making notes and drawings as the walls were cleared of the



The town wall in Pandon
and corner tower in 1882
Holmes

adjoining houses and the excavations carried through the Wall Knoll, with the intention of writing a notice of them for the society. As, however, another member of the society, who also took a lively interest in the alterations, and who visited the works occasionally, wrote a short paper upon them, which was printed in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. x. I thought it inadvisable to do anything further in the matter at that time. The following account of the alterations embodies the notes I took at the time.

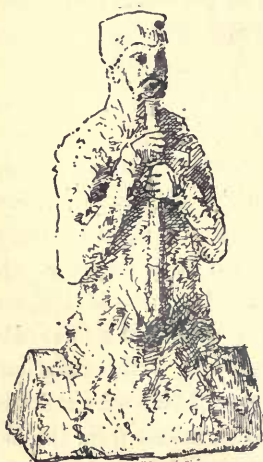
When the houses were cleared away for the purpose of founding the large retaining walls for supporting the embankment of the new road, a very interesting length of the town wall was exposed to view, extending from near the Corner tower to Sandgate, and forward up the hill to the Wall Knoll tower. This was built of the usual large square-faced block-work characteristic of the walls generally, with a chamfered course forming the cap of the extra thickness of wall towards its base. From below the Corner tower to Sandgate the wall stood to its original height, and had upon it portions of the outer parapet. It was eight feet six inches in breadth, and upon its inner face were heavily projecting stone corbels, three stones in depth, which would probably have carried an inner parapet, and so have allowed more top width of wall. About midway in this length was a segmentally arched opening through the wall, allowing a passage for the Pandon stream, the opening of which was ten feet wide and eight feet six inches in depth from the springing of the arch, which had a versed sine of two feet three inches. The chamfered base course of the wall had been neatly stepped down to the level of the opening, and through the opening the Pandon sewer had been carried at a later date. In clearing the mud from the fosse for the retaining wall foundations, a line of riven oak stakes was brought to light. These were eighteen inches to two feet apart, and at a distance of eight feet from the face of the wall. The stakes were four feet long by four to six inches square. As they were merely stuck into the mud of the ditch, and not pointed at the top as spikes, it is difficult to imagine what purpose they could have served.

Pandon gateway had its western abutment standing, and this, with the exception of a few of the top casing stones, I prevailed upon the contractor to spare, and consequently it remains deeply buried for a future race of antiquaries.

Between Pandon gate and the Wall Knoll tower the wall which had served for the backs of the houses built up to it, was in fairly good condition, but not to the full height generally. At one place in this length a curious feature occurred, the wall having a foul junction of its parts, the face of one portion ranging in line with the back of that adjoining, and the two pieces of walling ending squarely where so joined, thus



The walling here was founded in strong clay by ill-built rubble work, at a very slight depth below the surface, and without any trace of having been previously occupied by the Roman wall, with which repeated surmise had accredited it.²⁶ Similarly, the Wall Knoll tower, which both Grey and Bourne ascribe to Roman times, was, in its oldest portion, only the age of the town wall abutting upon it as previously noted.



From the Wall Knoll tower to the foot of the Causey bank the wall appeared to be double, the two walls forming the front and backs of houses between them. Of these the more westerly one was evidently the original, as it had the inner corbels indicative of the base of a turret. The other had, however, been built of similar shaped stones, and as the two walls came together at the foot of the bank at a very acute angle, it seems unlikely that it had been built for the purpose of forming the front walls of the houses.

On making the excavations in Pandon opposite the 'New Road,' two of the stone figures which had graced the coping of the wall turrets, were found. These are now in the Castle, as are also a cannon ball and other objects found there. Within the wall a circular-chamber was dug into, which had probably communicated with the

²⁶ Grey's *Chorographia*; Bourne's *History of Newcastle*.

floor of a house by means of a shaft. And from this chamber, running under the wall to the outside, was a driftway or passage lined with wood, the uprights and head timbers of which seemed to be old boat spars mortised and tenoned into each other. In the chamber was a cask, the aroma from which was strongly suggestive of whisky or some other spirit. This seemed to have been an ingenious device of some enterprising smuggler to get his goods introduced into the town free of tollage.

On the Wall Knoll were some remains of the monastic buildings, forming the bases of the brick houses and stables built upon them. These had in them portions of door and window casings, and some of the tracery of the chapel windows was brought to light. On digging through the deep covering of rubbish the fine rich soil of the former monastery gardens was reached, with an apple tree *in situ* which had been buried up, and at its foot a buried cat and dog. Several human skeletons of bodies which had been buried here were also found. A well having some curious features about it was discovered on the edge of the high ground twenty-five yards south of the tower. It was rectangular, with the sides four feet ten inches and six feet eight inches, arched over with brick and stone lined. A portion of it was narrower than the general width, and this was covered by a circular stone like a millstone, five feet diameter and nine inches thick, with a square hole through its centre. An entrance had been left in the arched roof of the well, and in it were some lengths of cast iron piping three inches diameter with flanged joints. The oak timber stays of which had become quite black from age. A culvert of curious construction led towards the well. It had flat slabs of stone forming the bottom, on which rested stones cut out in the form of a semicircular arch eighteen inches diameter internally, and uniformly three inches and a half thick. The stones were truly dressed inside and out, and why the exterior portions of them should have been cut away at considerable expence of labour and a decrease of strength it is difficult to make out. They may have originally been designed for some other purpose and afterwards used as drain covers.

II.—NOTES OF THE FAMILY OF HEBBURN OF HEBBURN.

BY J. CRAWFORD HODGSON.

[Read on the 28th August, 1895.]

THE recent meeting of the Society at Chillingham, when the castle-house of Hebburn was inspected, affords a not unsuitable opportunity of laying before you the gathered fragments of the history of its ancient owners, whose surname was taken from this, their principal seat.

The earliest notice of the Hebburn family seems to be in the reign of king John, when John Viscount II., gave to the monks of Farne land at Newton-by-the-Sea, adjoining the meadow of Robert de Hebburn, knight. Between 1237 and 1244 John Viscount III., granted a third part of Earle, near Wooler, and a moiety of Newton to Robert de Hebburn. In 1255 Gerard de Hebburn was an attesting witness to the charter which records the sale of the barony of Embleton by the Lady Rametta and Hereward de Marisco, her husband, to Simon de Montford, and was witness to another charter of the same period of a grant of a tenement in Stamford from Patrick Harang to de Montford. In 1352 sir Thomas de St. Maur granted to sir John Stryvelyn all his rights in the manor and township of Newton and the holdings which John de Hebburn had held in Hebburn of sir Lawrence de St. Maur, his grandfather. It was probably the widow of this John de Hebburn, and mother of Guychard or Gerhard de Hebburn, who, in 1292, as Mathilda, wife of John le Taillur of Berwick, claimed one third of Newton as her dower from the said John de Hebburn, her former husband.¹

In 1271 Nicholas Hebburn granted to the vicar of Chillingham certain lands and offerings there conditional on his officiating in the chapel at Hebburn on specified feast days,² and the names of James de Hebburn and Alice de Hebburn appear in the Subsidy Roll of 1312. In 1319 Guychard de Hebburn and Isabel, his wife, held the manor of Hebburn, with lands in Newton and Earle.³

¹ The new *Hist. of Northd.* vol. ii. pp. 17, 18, 83, 85, 89.

² *Border Holds*, pp. 23, 302.

³ Hodgson, *Hist. of Northd.* iii. vol. i. p. 62.

On the 19th March, 1350, Mathilda, daughter of [Guychard and] Isabella de Hebburn, and wife of William Darrayns, for a rent of 100s. granted to Robert Wendout, an adjoining landowner and kinsman, all her lands at Newton, Embleton, and Earle, for the term of her life. These lands, some six years later, were finally transferred by Darrayns to Wendout.

Robert Wendout, the purchaser, had one son and six daughters. Upon failure of heirs to the former in 1379 the daughters became co-heiresses, and part of the lands, including one third part of the manor of Newton, fell to the second daughter Isabel, who had married a Hebburn, probably a second cousin of Mathilda Darrayns. In this way the alienated lands, or part of them, were restored to the blood of the former owners.⁴

The husband of Isabel Wendout was probably that John Hebburn who was found to have died *circa* 28 Edward III. (1354), seized of the manor of Hebburn, and of lands at Newton and Earle.⁵ We now reach firmer ground, for Robert de Hebburn, son of Isabel Wendout, was found to be of the age of thirty in 1381, and to have died 3rd August, 1415. An *Inq. p.m.* was taken (4 Henry V.), and he was found to have died seized of Newton-by-the-Sea, of the manor of Hebburn, and of the manor of Earle.⁶ He was succeeded by his son, Thomas de Hebburn, then aged twenty-seven, who died 1st July, 1424, leaving a son and heir, John de Hebburn, aged five years. In 1448 Agnes, widow of Robert de Hebburn, was found to have died seized of lands and tenements at Earle. Newton, East Ditchburn, etc.⁷

In 1486 John Hebburn, who would then be aged about sixty-seven years, and is described as senior, conveyed his manor of Hebburn, and his lands at Hebburn, Earle, Newton-by-the-Sea, Ellington, Ingo (?), and Coldmartin to William Rutherford of Rochester, William Lawson, and others, in trust.⁸

In 1509 Thomas Hebburn is returned as owner and occupier of Hebburn-hold, capable of accommodating twenty horsemen. He was possibly a grandson of John Hebburn, senior, and is mentioned again

⁴ The new *Hist. of Northd.* vol. ii. pp. 89, 90.

⁵ Lambert MS.

⁶ Hodgson, *Hist. of Northd.* iii. vol. ii. p. 267; and new *History*, vol. ii. p. 89.

⁷ Hodgson, *Hist. of Northd.* iii. vol. ii. p. 274.

⁸ *Visitation*, edited by Joseph Foster, p. 66.

in 1522 as a freeholder in Embleton, and in 1541 as owner of Hebburn tower. His will, written by the vicar of Chillingham, and made 18th April, 1574, when 'syck in body & hole of mynde & of good & p'fett memorie,' gives his body 'to be buried wthin the . . . church of Sent peter th'appostle in Chillangh'm where I am a p'rshonr.' He gives to his daughter 'Bele' Hebburn £20 ; to his son Ralph 40s. a year out of his lands in 'Slynglay,' within the bishopric of Durham ; to son Robert 40s. a year out of Newton-by-the-Sea. 'I will that Myghell hebborne my sonne and heire shall stand and be charged and chargeable wth Rauf hebborne and Robert hebborne his brothers for mete drynk and loddinge in my Mansion hows of hebborne orells where, from the day of my deceas duringe and untill they & either of them shall com to xxiiij yeres of age orells be otherwise p'vided by s'uice or interteynment, & Also I will that the said Mighall shall fynde my syster Elsabethe mete drynk and clothe Lyn & Wollende from the day of my desceas duringe her lif naturall yf she will remayne wth him.'⁹

He was succeeded by his son, Michael Hebburn, who married the posthumous daughter of that George Craster of Craster who died in 1546. In his time occurred the blood feud between the Stories and Hebburns, whose differences were submitted to arbitration. The award of Edmund Craster, the arbitrator, is printed in *Border Holds*,¹⁰ in the *Annals of the House of Percy*, and elsewhere.

Michael Hebburn's will is dated 2nd January, 1601, and was proved at York 24th July, 1613. He charges his lands at 'Newton Morell, co. Richmond,' with £100 apiece to his daughters, Eleanor and Ann, and appoints numerous executors, viz, his wife Margaret, his son Arthur, Ralph Gray of Chillingham, Nicholas Forster of Huln abbey, Arthur Grey, Ephraim Widdrington (his son-in-law), and Roger Grey.¹¹

Arthur Hebburn in 1614 took a mortgage on Carlecroft,¹² and occurs as owner of Hebburn in the freeholders' list of 1628. His will is dated 19th August, 1636, and was proved in 1638. Besides his eldest son Ralph, he had three sons, Edward, Arthur, and John, to whom he left £100 apiece, to his eldest daughter Margaret, he

⁹ *Durham Wills*, (Surt. Soc.) vol. i. p. 401.

¹⁰ *Border Holds*, vol. i., p. 303.

¹¹ Raine, *Testa*.

¹² *Lambert MS.*

devised £200, and to the other six £100 apiece, charged on Hebburn, Earle, and Newton. He appointed his wife (Mary, daughter of John Salkeld of Hulne abbey) his executrix.¹³ His inventory, taken by Henry Ogle, Thomas and William Armorer, and Richard Forster, was exhibited in 1638,¹⁴ and an *Inq. p.m.* was taken 10th November, 14 Charles I., by the king's escheator, when he was found to have died seized of the manor and township of Hebburn and other lands, Ralph Hebburn, the son and heir, being under age.

In 1661 the heir of Arthur Hebburn was amerced 3s. 4d. for not appearing at the court at Alnwick.

The heir, Ralph Hebburn, embraced the profession of arms, and became the colonel of a foot regiment in the service of king Charles I., and in 1662 and 1664 was stationed at Berwick. In 1663 he was rated to the county rate for Hebburn on £120, and for Earle at £20 per annum. He married a daughter of Robert Delaval of Cowpen, and entered his pedigree at the Heralds' Visitation of 1666, in which he returned his then age as fifty, apparently an over-statement. He called in the mortgage on Carlecroft, and re-leased that estate to George Potts in 1672.¹⁵

His son, Robert Hebburn, was aged eight years in 1666, and appears in the *Bamburgh Register* as godfather to William, son of Thomas Forster of Adderstone, in 1685. In 1693 he rented the great tithes of Chatton from Ford, lord Grey of Wark,¹⁶ and four years later was a trustee of the marriage settlement of Fergus Story of Beanley and Dorothy Proctor of Shawdon and Rock.¹⁷ The writer has no record of his death or will, but he would seem to have resided on his own estate at Hebburn, for the *Chillingham Register* records the baptisms of five of his children.

He seems to have been succeeded by his son, Robert Hebburn, the last male of the direct line, who also served in the army. His will preserved in the rev. John Hodgson's collection, is printed at length in the Appendix. It shows that besides his daughter Mary, and his two sisters, he apparently had no near blood relative.

The heiress of this ancient line had a somewhat eventful and unhappy life. After being educated at the once well-known York Manor school, she afterwards visited Bath, Clifton, London, etc.,

¹³ Raine, *Testa*.¹⁴ *Ibid.*¹⁵ *Lambert MS.*¹⁶ *Ibid.*¹⁷ *Ibid.*

under the care of Mrs. Johnstone, her father's sister. She married Edward Brudenell, a descendant of Lord Cardigan and a kinsman of the duke of Montague, who, after serving as aide-de-camp to his father in the German war, took orders for the sake of the family living of Hougham, Lincolnshire. The marriage settlement is dated 6th November, 1764. 'The habits of dissipation he had acquired in the army were not forsaken, and his marriage to an heiress was a further step to the gratification of his expensive pleasures. He was a man of insinuating and accomplished manners, but totally without moral or religious principle, and the selfish hardness of his heart showed itself in utter disregard of the happiness of an affectionate wife, and in the grossest indulgence in illicit amours and profligate habits of expense. His wife brought him two sons; they both, however, died in infancy; and after suffering every species of unkindness and indignity Mrs. Brudenell came to the resolution of parting from her ungenerous and cruel husband.' She left a letter for her husband 'threatening that if he attempted to molest her or refused the separate maintenance provided by her marriage settlement, she would throw herself on the protection of the duke of Montague, and disclose the cruelty with which she had been treated.' . . . 'Mrs. Brudenell visited some of her mother's connexions in London, while Mr. Brudenell made some arrangements with respect to her estate of Hebburn in Northumberland, and he finally agreed to allow her £100 a year. From the deranged state of his own affairs he found it expedient to accept the appointment (obtained for him by his half-brother, General Philips) of chaplain to General Burgoyne's army, along with a detachment of which he sailed for America in the year 1776.'

At her husband's death in 1804 Mrs. Brudenell became again possessed of her paternal estate of Hebburn. 'She who in her youth had bounded over those fields, the heiress of a fair domain, full of life, hope, and promise, now, at the age of 66, came back a shattered, feeble, old woman.' Mr. Brudenell had 'pulled down an old baronial castle which time had spared,' and built Hebburn house upon 'precisely the only part of the estate which affords a prospect utterly devoid of picturesque beauty.'¹⁸

¹⁸ Mrs. Fletcher's *Autobiography* (Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas, 1875), pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 85, 91, and 96.

Mrs. Brudenell, 'having no connexions on her father's side, and her mother's connexions never having shown her any affectionate consideration or regard, devised her estate to the daughter of an old friend, the wife of Mr. Archibald Fletcher of Edinburgh, an eminent lawyer and a member of the literary society of the period. She died at Tadcaster 25th November, 1806, and was buried near her children in the chancel of Hougham, where the following epitaphs preserve their memory:—

Near this place are deposited the remains of Edward and William Brudenell sons of the reverend Edward Brudenell rector of Hougham cum Marston and Margaret his wife, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Hebborne esq. of Hebborne in the county of Northumberland.

Edward the eldest was buried July the 20th, 1767, aged 1 year.

William February the 24th, 1770, aged 3 years

Sacred to the memory of | Margaret Brudenell | of | Hebburne | To an elevated and generous mind | she unite | a grateful and affectionate heart | she died in the humble trust | of a blessed immortality | November, 1806 | aged 61.

Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher sold Hebburn 13th September, 1808,¹⁹ to the earl of Tankerville, who has absorbed part of it in the Chillingham park.²⁰

POSTSCRIPT.—On 4th January, 20 Henry VII., Ralph Hebburn of Hebburn, esquire, granted to the Fraternity of Mariners the site of the present Trinity house at Newcastle. The priest ministering within the chapel there was to pray for the good estate of the said Ralph Hebburn, of master John Hebburn, and of George Hebburn. On the 9th September, 16 Henry VIII., the Fraternity obtained a confirmation from Thomas Hebburn, son of the above Ralph, who was to be made a brother and a partaker of all masses, prayers, and suffrages said in the chapel.—Bourne, pp. 143-144; *cf.* Welford, i. p. 400; ii. p. 77.

Master John Hebburn may be identified with John Hebburn, LL.B., vicar of Tynemouth in 1492.—Brand, vol. ii. p. 102.

¹⁹ *Lambert MS.* and *ex. inf.* Mr. R. G. Bolam of Berwick.

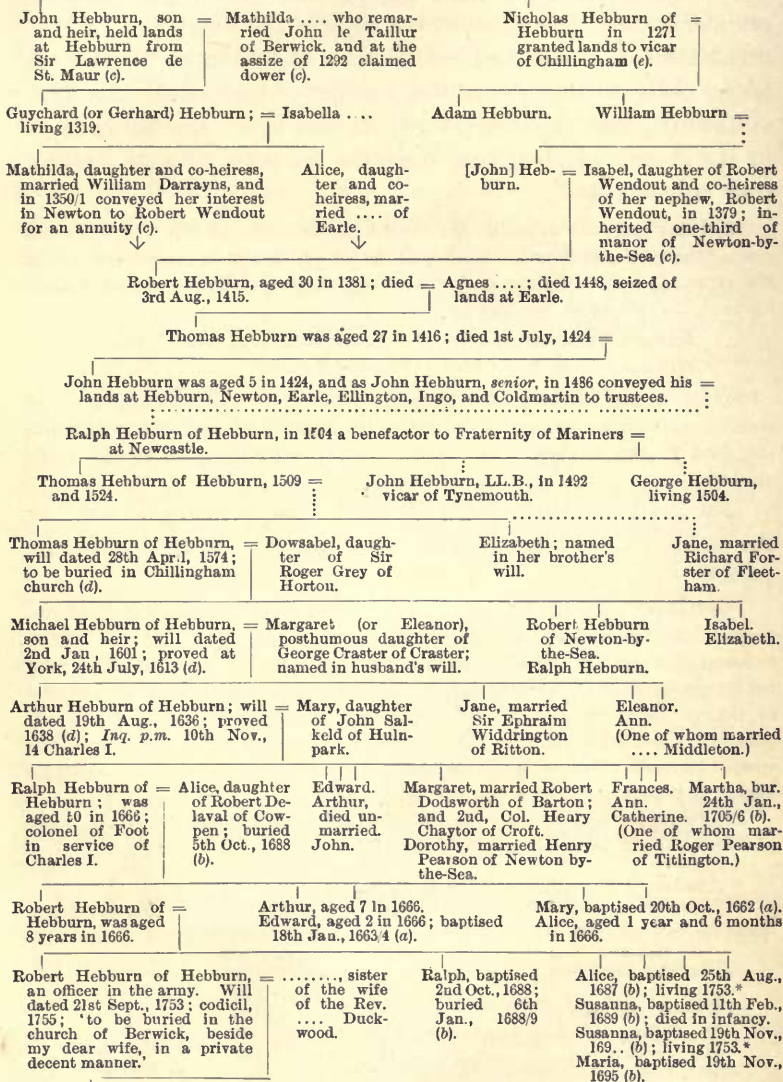
²⁰ There remains on the Chillingham vestry books a 'survey and valuation, made in 1806, of Hebburn, the estate of Mrs. Mary Brudenell':—

Tenant.	Acreage.	Value p. a.	
Lancelot Reed, esq.	57	£109	
John Ord... ..	562	172	
Walter Atkinson	735	485	
Jas. Jeffrey	83	93	
Wm. Jordan	119	110	
Mat. Alder	50	57	
Jas. Scott	400	70	
do. lime quarries	—	20	
Mary Hall	—	1 10s.)	
	2,008	£1,120 13 9	Tithe rent, £83 10s.

HEBBURN OF HEBBURN.

ARMS; *Argent; three lamps (or cressets) sable. Visitation.*

ROBERT HEBBURN, lord of the manor of Newton-by-the-Sea, had grant of one-third part of Earle and a moiety of Newton from John Viscount III. (c).



Margaret, daughter and heiress, born *circa* 1735, married Edward Brudenell, clerk in orders, rector of Hougham, Lincolnshire; marriage settlement 6th Nov., 1764; died at Tadcaster, 25th Nov., 1836, and buried beside her two children in the chancel of Hougham.

This pedigree is founded on the *Herald's Visitation* of 1666.

(a) *Berwick Register.*

(b) *Chillingham Register.*

(c) *New County History of Northumberland*, vol. ii., account of Newton-by-the-Sea.

(d) *Raine, Testaments.*

(e) *Bates, Border Holdings.*

* One of these ladies married ... Johnson, and with her Mrs. Brudenell resided before marriage.

APPENDIX.

This is the last Will and Testament of me Robert Hebburne of Hebburne in the County of Northumberland, Esquire, made and published this twenty first day of September in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty three, as follows : First it is my mind and will that all my just debts I shall owe at my death and the legacies hereinafter given shall in the first place be paid and discharged and for the more sure doeing thereof I do hereby charge and make subject all my Estate as well reall as personal with the payment of the same. And I give, devise and bequeath all my messuages, lands, Tenements and Hereditaments with their and every of their appurtenances situate lying and being in Hebburne aforesaid or elsewhere in the said county of Northumberland in whose tenure or occupation soever the same are or be. And all my personal Estate whatsoever and wheresoever, and of what nature kind or quality soever, unto my daughter Margaret Hebburne and her heirs for ever when she shall have attained the age of twenty one years (subject and liable to all my just debts, funeral expences and legacies hereinafter bequeathed) and in the mean time, and untill my said daughter shall have attained the said age of twenty one years, I hereby order and direct my Trustees and Executors, hereinafter named, to pay yearly out of the rent of my real Estate and other my yearly income, to Mrs fforster, wife of Thomas fforster of Lucker, in the said County of Northumberland, Gentleman, to whom I commit the sole care, management, and direction of my said daughter, the sum of one hundred pounds yearly, to be applied by her towards my said daughter's maintenance, education, and bringing up, till she arrives at the age of twenty one years ; and the overplus of all my rents, and other yearly income of my real and personal estate, after payment yearly of the said one hundred pounds and annuities hereinafter bequeathed, I do order and direct the same to be placed out and put forth at interest by my said Trustees and Executors to the use of my said daughter, to be paid her with the increase thereof when she shall have attained the said age of twenty one years. But if my said Daughter Margaret Hebburn shall happen to dye before she shall have attained the said age of twenty one years, and unmarried (charged and chargeable with the several annuities herein bequeathed) I give and devise all and every my messuages, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever in Hebburne or elsewhere in the County of Northumberland aforesayd, unto Robert fforster, one of the sons of the said Thomas fforster of Lucker aforesaid, and the heirs male of his body lawfully issuing ; and for default of such Issue, I give and devise all and singular the same premises (charged and chargeable as aforesaid) unto John fforster, another son of the said Thomas fforster of Lucker aforesaid and the Heirs Male of his body lawfully issuing ; and for default of such issue, I give and devise all and singular the same premises etc. unto Ralph fforster another son of the said Thomas fforster and the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully issued ; and for default of such issue, I give and devise all and singular the same premises to the right heires of the said

Thomas florster for ever; and in case my said Daughter Margaret Hebburn shall happen to dye as aforesaid, before she attains the said age of twenty one years, and unmarried, Then I give and bequeath unto Eleanor florster and Joannah florster, Daughters of the said Thomas florster of Lucker, aforesaid, all my personal Estate whatsoever and wheresoever, of what nature, kind, or quality, and of whatsoever the same consists, equally betwixt them, to be divided share and share alike, Subject and liable in the first place to and with the payment of all my debts legacies and funeral expences. Also I give and devise unto my sister Alice Hebburn for and during the term of her natural life, one clear annual rent of twenty pounds of lawfull money of great Britan to be yearly issuing and payable out of all and singular my said messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and to be yearly payable to my said sister at or upon the first day of May and the eleventh day of November by equall portions, free of all manner of deductions or abatement whatsoever; the first payment thereof to be made on such of the said days as shall happen next after my decease. And I also give and bequeath unto my said Sister, Alice Hebburne, the sum of twenty pounds, to buy mourning with, to be paid her within two months after my death. Also I give and bequeath unto my sister Susannah Hebburne for and during the term of her natural life, one other clear annual rent of twenty pounds of like lawfull money, to be yearly issuing and going forth out of and from all and singular the same premises, and to be yearly payable to my said sister Susannah Hebburne at or upon the said first day of May and eleventh day of November by equal portions, etc the first payment, etc. And I also give and bequeath unto my said sister Susannah Hebburne, the sum of twenty pounds to put her into mourning to be paid her etc. And I do will and devise that of either if the said annual rents or sums of Twenty pounds or either of them shall happen to be behind and unpaid in part or in all by the space of twenty days next after either of the said days, upon which the same are respectively before limitted and appointed to be paid (the same being lawfully demanded) Then and so often it shall and may be lawfull to and for my said sisters Alice Hebburne and Susannah Hebburne respectively unto whom the said respective annual rents or sums of money in any part thereof shall be so due and in arrear unto and upon all and singular the said messuages, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, out of which the said yearly rents are to be issuing as aforesaid, and unto and upon every or any part or parcel thereof, to enter and distrain, and the distress and distresses then and there found to take, impound, detain and keep untill the said respective rent or rents so unpaid, and all arrears thereof (if any shall happen to be, and all costs and charges of such distress and distresses shall be fully satisfied and paid. And also that if the said rents hereby before detailed or any of them shall be behind and unpaid in part or in all by the space of forty days next after any of the said days whereon the same respectively ought to be paid as aforesaid, the same being lawfully demanded, then and in every such case and so often it shall and may be lawfull to and for my sisters respectively unto whom the said respective yearly rents

shall be so due and in arrear by the space of forty days as aforesaid into and upon all and singular the said premises, out of which the same yearly rents are to be issuing or into or upon any part or parcel thereof, to enter and the same to have hold and enjoy untill she or they shall be therewith or otherwise fully satisfied and paid the said respective yearly rent or rents so behind and unpaid and all arrears thereof then incurred (?) or that shall incur during such possession or possessions respectively together with all the costs and charges of such entry or entries. And further it is my will and mind that if my said Daughter shall happen to dye before she shall attain the age of twenty one years and unmarried, then and in that case, I give and devise unto my said sisters Alice Hebburne and Susannah Hebburne aforesaid, during their several and respective Life and Lives an additional clear annual rent or sum of ten pounds apiece. And if one of them be then only living, then one single additional clear annual rent of ten pounds to such surviving sister for and during the term of her natural life, The said additional rent or rents to be also yearly issuing and going forth out of and from all every or any of my said messuages, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments and to be yearly payable to my said sister or sisters respectively at or upon the same days and times, and in like manner or proportions as is or are hereinbefore limited for payment of the former annuities hereinbefore given and devised to my said sisters, with the same or the like powers and remedies for the obtaining and receiving thereof as I have given and devised to my said sisters for or in respect of their said former annuities anything contained to the contrary thereof anywise notwithstanding. Also I give and bequeath (if my said Daughter shall happen to dye before she attain the age of twenty one years and unmarried, as aforesaid) unto Mrs Duckworth, wife of the Reverend Mr Duckworth, and sister to my late dear wife, the sum of fifty pounds, to be paid her within six months after my said Daughter's death. I also give and bequeath unto my servant Robert Straughen, if he be living with me at the time of my death all my wearing apparell and wearing Linen whatsoever, and all my Saddles and Leather accoutrements in the stables whatsoever (the chair and harness only excepted) And I do also give my said servant the horse he usually rode upon in attending my Chair. Also I give and bequeath unto the said Thomas fforster of Lucker, Nicholas Brown of Bolton in the said County of Northumberland, Esquire, and Matthew fforster, Gentleman, son of the said Thomas fforster, the sum of twenty pounds apiece as a token of gratitude for the trouble they will have in the execution and management of the trusts hereby reposed in them. And I do constitute and appoint the said Thomas fforster, Nicholas Brown, and Matthew fforster joint executors of this my will; And I do also give and devise unto the said Thomas fforster, Nicholas Brown, and Matthew fforster the Guardianship and Tuition of my said Daughter during her minority, and to the survivors or survivor of them. And also I do order and direct and it is my will that the said Thomas fforster, Nicholas Brown, and Matthew Forster, their executors, etc., shall and may deduct and retain out of the income of my Estate all such costs, charges, and expences as they or either

or any of them shall lay out, expend, or be put into, in about or concerning the execution or management of all or any of the trusts hereby in them reposed. And that they or any of them shall not be answerable for or chargeable with any more of the said trust money than what they respectively actually receive or comes to their respective hands, nor one for the others of them nor one for the receipts, acts, or defaults of another (their joining in signing receipts for money for conformity notwithstanding) nor for any loss or difficulty which may happen in the said trust money without their own wilfull acts and defaults. And I do hereby revoke all former and other wills by me at any time heretofore made and declare this to be my last Will. In Witness whereof I the said Robert Hebburne the Testator to this and another part hereof have set my hand and seal the day and year first above written. [Signed] ROBT. HEBBURNE.

[Signet Crown above 3 fleurs de lys].

Witnessed by GEORGE MARSH, Rector of Ford;

THOS. THORP, Vicar of Berwick; WM. JEFFREYS.

Codicil dated Ap. 1. 1755.

[Confirms annuities to sisters, etc.] I do also give and bequeath unto each of my said two sisters one further annuity of five pounds apiece to be paid them respectively during their respective lives on the same days and times I have by my said will ordered and directed their several annuities of twenty pounds apiece to be paid them. And I do also order and direct my Executors to give such further relief and assistance unto my said two sisters or either of them out of my estate and effects as they in their discretions shall see proper in case my said sisters or either of them shall happen to be afflicted with sickness or Infirmities. And I do also by this my Codicil make Null and Void to all and intents and purposes both in Law and Equity the bequest to John Forster in and by my said will of my Messuages, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in Hebburn aforesaid, and the Heirs Male of his body lawfully issuing in case of his Brother Robert dyeing without Heirs Male as by my said Will is more particularly mentioned and expressed. I do also order my funeral to be about four in the afternoon in a private, decent but not expensive manner. My Corpse I desire may be interred as near as may be the Corpse of my late dear Wife, within the Church of Berwick aforesaid, And I do order that there be only four bearers to bear up the pall, vizt., Samuel Younghusband and George Carr Esquires, and Mr William Jeffreys and Mr William Hall. In Witness whereof I have herewith set my hand and seal the Twenty first day of Aprill One thousand seven hundred and fifty five. ROBT. HEBBURNE.

Witnesses. WM. JEFFREYS; ROBERT STRAWHEN; JN. NEALE.

Mr. Forster: I desire and my Will is that you and my other Executors may give to my serv^t Robert Straughen over and above what I have particularly given him in my will the following particulars (to wit) my Setting Dogg and all my * my gun, pistolls and sword. May 3rd, 1755. ROB. HEBBURNE.

Witnesses. ROBERT THOMPSON; JN. NEALE.

III. — MONUMENTS IN THE ATHOL CHANTRY, ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

BY JOHN ROBINSON.

[Read on the 29th May, 1895.]

THE restoration,¹ under the supervision of Mr. W. S. Hicks, a member of this society, of the Holy Trinity chantry in St. Andrew's church, and the uncovering of monuments to famous burgesses of Newcastle, is a subject deserving the attention of the Society of Antiquaries.

Some of the best known local benefactors, poets, painters, musicians, mathematicians, and men of letters have their names recorded in the registers of the church. The names of de Athol, lord of Jesmond, and of the family of Mrs. Barrett-Browning are sufficient in themselves to give prestige to any parish. But when we find that the centuries which intervene between the periods represented by these two names have been made famous in the town's history by the lives of such inhabitants as sir William Blackett, sir Mark Milbanke, sir Ralph Jenison, sir Francis Anderson, Edward Delaval, the Brandlings, Isaacsons, Collingwoods, Ellisons, Claverings, Surtees, Scotts (lords Eldon and Stowell), Stotes, Ogles, Ords, and Armstrongs, the majority of whom have been, from time to time, members of the ancient vestry or four-and-twenty of St. Andrew's; when science, art, and literature are represented by Charles Avison, Henry Atkinson, John Forster, T. M. Richardson, Perlee Parker, Carmichael, Ewbank, Winch, Chicken, Richard Grainger, the Fairbairns, and Dr. Bruce; when amongst its curates are the revs. John and Nathaniel Ellison and John Brand, enough has been recorded to prove the many associations gathered round the ancient fabric.

The Trinity chantry was the burial place of several members of the old Newcastle trade guilds, for many names upon its monu-

¹ Amongst other alterations the floor of the chantry, which originally was at least a foot above the level of the church, has been lowered to the same level, necessitating the disturbance of the ledger stones and the Athol slab. In the process all the remains found, including those of Adam de Athol and his wife, were, it is said, mixed together and buried in one place. A few glazed tiles discovered during the work have been set diamond-wise into the centre of a sandstone slab.—ED.

ments are associated with them, and their armorial bearings are to be seen sculptured upon the stones. For generations these slabs have been hidden from sight by the erection of the organ in the chantry. A plan of the chantry, which measures twenty feet from east to west by twenty-eight feet from north to south, similar to that here given (plate IX.) by the courtesy of Mr. Hicks, the architect, will be placed among the parish records, so that the exact spot will be known where each particular monument is to be found.

The recent restoration has demonstrated the fact that the same burial space, and even the same sepulchral monument, has been more than once used, regardless of family relationship; and in some instances the last monument has been placed on the top of an earlier one.

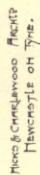
The custom of purchasing ground inside the church for the purposes of a pew for the living, and a burial place for the dead, is illustrated by the following entry in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Andrew's in the seventeenth century :—

1680. Pews No. 21, 22 and 23. These three pews above mentioned let to Mr. Richard Lambert, together with a Burial place granted him, the length of the said Pews, and two yards in breadth.

The same family had previously buried their dead in the interior of the church, as may be seen from the records of 1644, where it is stated that among 'sums received fore Larestones for the year 1644' there was paid by 'Thomas Lambert, son of Mr. Richard Lambert, 00 : 01 : 08.' For centuries it was the custom of wealthy families to have their burial places inside the church; and as we have seen from the above extract from the church records in numerous instances the family pew was above the family burial place.

The chantry was founded by sir Aymer de Athol; who was lord of Jesmond, and in 1381 high sheriff of Northumberland.² He buried his wife Mary in it, and erected an altar to the Holy Trinity at the foot of her grave. So great had been his charity that the church twice granted indulgences of forty days to all who should offer up prayers in the chantry he founded, or should contribute to its proper ornamentation. The chief object of interest in the chantry is the large slab of

² Welford, *Newcastle*, i. p. 198; see also pp. 205, 208, 215.



freestone bearing the matrices of the brazen effigies of the founder and his wife. Of this slab the dimensions are fourteen feet four inches in length by four feet ten inches in breadth, and six inches thick, and weighs about three tons.³ The grain of the stone is very hard, and on the underside full of large pebbles. The local masons state that they have never seen a stone of the same grit, and they do not believe it was from any local quarry.

Inlaid round the verge of the stone ran an inscription on brass, of which Richardson⁴ informs us some portion remained in 1768. This he gives as 'Hic jacent Dominus Adamarus de Atholl, miles, et Dna Maria uxor ejus quæ obiit quarto decimo die Mensis Anno Domini Millessimo tricesimo animarum propitiatur.'

Some of the brass nails, by which the brasses were attached to the stone, are still to be seen.

Not a single fragment of the brasses remains on the stones, piece by piece they disappeared, and, in the memory of some now living, the last remnant was torn from its place. This represented the knight's feet resting on a leopard, and was rescued from the melting pot, and presented to this society by Monseigneur Eyre (now Roman Catholic archbishop of Glasgow), and is in the museum at the Black Gate.⁵

Between the Athol menument and the north window of the chantry is the Rutter monument (No. 1 on plan), on which is inscribed the following :—

The Burial Place of | CHRISTOPHER RUTTER | Baker and Brewer And Ann
his | Wife and their Children she | Departed this life the 20th day of April An
Dom: 1704 | He departed the 17th day of March An: | Dom: 1714 In the 52nd
year of his | Age And left four Children (Viz:) Iacob, Christopher, Iane |
Ivlia. | JACOB RUTTER Died April The 25th 1759 Aged 24 years Elizabeth
his Daughter Died March the 30th | 1757 Aged 10 weeks.

The Rutters were one of the leading mercantile houses in Newcastle in the beginning of the last century. They had their own pew in St. Andrew's, which is thus recorded in the churchwardens' books :—

October 19th, 1707.—Agreed and Let to Mr. Christopher Rutter, Beer Brewer, Two New Pews, built by himself at the west and next to Number six in the middle Isle, North Side, For which he pays two shillings and sixpence in hand, and to pay yearly, every year at Whitsuntide one shilling.

³ See reproduction of this, from a rubbing made by Mr. O. J. Charlton, at p. 49.

⁴ *Table Book*, Hist. ii. p. 174. ⁵ See *Proe.* vi. p. 169 *et seq.*

In 1720 Jacob Rutter was sheriff of Newcastle. On May 4th, 1749, the marriage of Miss Rutter with Mr. Clayton is announced to the world in the following quaint style in the *Newcastle Courant* :—

Mr. William Clayton, an eminent Merchant in Newcastle, and son of Alderman Clayton, to Miss Mary Rutter, daughter of Mr. Rutter, Brewer, in Newcastle, a Lady of fine accomplishments and a great fortune.

In 1762 the widow of Mr. Christopher Rutter was married to lieutenant John Graham, of the Yorkshire East Riding Grenadier Company of Militia ; his regiment was at the time stationed in Newcastle. After his marriage, he succeeded to the business in Pilgrim Street, and the firm of John Graham became one of the most extensive traders with the West Indies, for which purpose he built and fitted out a fleet of vessels, which traded between the Tyne and Jamaica. In 1771 Mrs. Graham died, without issue, and Mr. Graham married for his second wife, in 1780, Miss Arabella Altham of Islington, sister to Mrs. Aubone Surtees of the Sandhill, Newcastle, whose husband's sister, Bessy Surtees, eloped with John Scott, afterwards lord Eldon. The issue of the marriage of John Graham with Miss Altham was Mary, afterwards Mrs. Barrett, mother of Mrs. Barrett-Browning, the gifted poetess. Mr. Graham some years afterwards, in 1786, assumed, by royal licence, the arms and name of Clarke. The Rutter family mansion, in which Mr. Graham lived from his marriage to his first wife until the building of his larger mansion next door, was in Pilgrim Street. The old house, in which Mrs. Barrett-Browning's mother was born, is now the Bible house. After John Graham Clarke had removed into his new mansion, the old residence was occupied for many years by the maiden sisters of lord Collingwood. The family vault and monument to the Rutter family and their old family mansion in Pilgrim street possess, therefore, historical associations of more than usual interest.

To the west of the Rutter monument is a long, narrow ledger stone, wider at the top than at the bottom (No. 2 on plan). The inscription round the edges reads :—‘ HEAR LYETH THE | BODYE OF RODGER HADDOCK BLACKSMYTH | AND . . . | . . . WHO | DYED THE 5 OF MARCH, 1638, WHO MARIED ISABEL REA | .’ In the centre the inscription is continued thus : ‘ DAUGHTER OF REA OF FENNUM,’

and below is a shield with the blacksmiths' arms (quarterly, 1 and 4 a chevron between three hammers, 2 three horse shoes (2 and 1), 3 is blank). The name of Haddock frequently appears in the records of the parish of St. Andrew in the seventeenth century and early part of the eighteenth. A Miss Annie Reay was one of the largest ratepayers according to the book of rates for 1738. Henry Reay was sheriff in 1707 and mayor in the years 1712 and 1729. There was an altar tomb of blue marble in the graveyard of Tynemouth prior to the memory of 'Henry Reay, Esqr., Merchant, Alderman, and twice Mayor of Newcastle.'

On the south side of the Athol monument is the grave cover of a member of the tanners' guild, and from the date on the stone it is a record of the last interment in the chantry (No. 6 on plan). The inscription reads :—

The Burial place of | IOSHVA TWIZELL | *Tanner* | and CATHERINE his Wife |
and their Children He | departed this life June | the 23 1718 | JOS GREENWELL |
obiit 29 Augst 1797 *Æt* 56 | MARY GREENWELL | died July 19th 1810 *Aged* 70

Of Joshua Twizell there is little evidence in the parish records, but the Greenwell family are an influential branch of old Newcastle worthies. In 1591 William Greenwell was sheriff, as was also, in 1738, another member of the same family of the same name. In removing the above-named Twizell monument, during the lowering of the floor of the chantry, an important discovery was made, which has set at rest any doubt about the Athol vault having been used for later date burials. In the *Local Historian's Table Book*⁶ for October 18th, 1768, it is stated that :—

The remains of William Wilkinson, Esq., were deposited in the Chantry of the Holy Trinity, in St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle. The body was interred in the burial place of Sir Adamarus de Athol, the large stone of which it was supposed had not been removed since his death, as, upon opening his grave only two skulls were found, and there appeared the flag work in which the bodies of Sir Adam and his wife had been deposited about 400 years before.

The recent alterations in the chantry have proved this record to be an error. The Athol remains had not been disturbed; the south wall of the vault had been partly removed to allow of a burial alongside the Athol grave, when the old chronicler of the last century

⁶ *Table Book*, Hist. ii. p. 174.

may have looked into the famous sepulchre; but the remains of the great benefactor of Newcastle and those of his wife were found to be undisturbed in 1894; no other burial could possibly have taken place in the same vault. The remains of Athol lay on the north and his wife on the south side of the grave. The skulls were in a wonderful state of preservation, the teeth of the lady being perfect. Athol's head had been large, and high, and well developed; that of the lady rather small, and gave evidence of being much younger than that of the knight. They had evidently been buried in oak coffins, three or four inches thick, held together at the ends by iron clasps. The vault was once more built up, the large monumental stone lowered into its original position, not again, we hope, to be disturbed.

To the west of Twizell the tanner's grave, is the older monument of Samuel Twizell (No. 7 on plan). The central portion of the slab is worn smooth, but round its edges can be deciphered the inscription:—‘Samuel Twizell, Master & mariner & Marie, his wife. She DeParted the 11th day of Aprill, 1696.’

There is a fitness in this being the resting place of a member of the ‘Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Trinity;’ and it completes the gathering together of all the various trade guilds which have made Newcastle what it is to-day, of which not the least honourable is that of the Trinity house, or master and mariners of the town and port of Newcastle.

Close to the western arch of the chantry, alongside that of the sailor's grave, is the upper portion of a memorial stone (No. 8 on plan) which records ‘The Buriall place of | STEPHEN BOND M^r & | Mariner & Isabella his . . .’ Here the stone is broken off, and the end fixed to that of another monument which reads, after five lines, which are illegible:—‘JOHN MAKEPEACE | Baker And Brewer And | Elizabeth his wife And | their Children. She Departed | this Life the 11th (?) of July, 1710.’

Of the Bond family we have no records in the parish registers, but the Makepeace family name is well known as that of goldsmiths at the beginning of the last century. The communion plate of numerous churches in Northumberland and Durham bear the name of Robert Makepeace, probably a relative.

At the foot of the Makepeace monument are two fragments of grave covers which were found underneath a larger monument, near the doorway of the north vestry, which vestry was according to the churchwardens' accounts of 1714, 'let to Mr. Sanderson for a (Beer) Cellar for £01:00:00.' The first fragment bears the initials, R^{WE} cut very deep into the stone. The other fragment bears the modest epitaph:—'The Burial place | of RALPH WATSON | Weauer, 1718.' The quiet life and modesty of the Newcastle weaver has left no record in the history of the parish. But an ancestor of his, John Watson, was sheriff in 1658.

The following epitaph is the only one in the chantry where poetic fancy has been allowed to soar above the usual plain matter of fact records on the sculptured monuments. On the east of the weaver's monument is a large stone with the inscription:—

The Burial place of | ANTHONY DRUMMOND | Mary Mitchell Died Aprill |
the 3rd 1763 Aged 82 years. | Elizabeth Brown Died January | the 12th 1770
Aged 5 years.

Go Spotles honer andun Sullied truth
Go Smiling Inocence and Blooming youth
Go Female Sweetnes Joined with manly Sence
Go Winning Wit that never Gave offence
Go Soft humanity that blest the Poor
Go Saint ey'd Patience from affliction door
Go modesty that never wore a frown
Go vertue and Receive thy heavenly crown

ANTHONY DRUMMOND died | July the 31th 1777 Aged 42 years.

On the south side of this poetical memorial are the fragments of several monuments joined together, but the inscriptions are unfortunately illegible. Time, and we must add neglect, have removed all identity.

To the west of these fragments is a fine slab ledger stone of blue marble (No. 12 on plan), at the top of it being a coat of arms bearing a chevron bearing 3 escallops, between 3 goats' heads erased, surmounted by a crest and helmet, and surrounded by rich mantling. Below the arms the inscription (No. 12 on plan):—

The Burial Place of | WILLIAM NEWTON and his Family | Underneath this
Stone | Lieth Interred the Remains of | DOROTHY | The beloved Wife of William
Newton | who departed this life January 5th 1789 | much lamented by her
FAMILY and FRIENDS | aged 49 Years. | WILLIAM NEWTON | died April 29th
1798 aged 69 years.

This William Newton would be the architect, designer of the Assembly rooms, in Westgate road, also of Howick hall, the seat of earl Grey ; and he also was the co-despoiler of the ancient monuments in St. Nicholas's church at the restoration of 1783.

At the foot of the Newton memorial are eight fragments of monumental stones (Nos. 14-21 on plan), which have been placed side by side to form one large square. Each fragment has traces of inscriptions, but time has erased all evidence of the records ; only on one fragment has part of the brewers' coat of arms, a shield, on which are a cask, and below it a circle with the letters E C at either side, survived the ravages of neglect and wilful destruction of times past.

To the west of these fragments of monuments to unknown citizens of Newcastle are two monuments deserving the attention of all who admire honour and worth. On the first is inscribed :—

The Burial place of | JOHN DAWSON, Taylor, and | Martha his wife and their Children. She departed this life the 9th day of December, 1710. Barbara, Wife of Michael Dawson departed this life 9th of January, 1723. Michael Dawson, son of the above said John Dawson, departed this life August the 6th, 1757. Aged 66 years.

The Dawsons were important members of the Newcastle community in the seventeenth century. From the years 1646 to 1692 the office of mayor was occupied six times by members of the family, and twice the office of sheriff was filled by a Dawson. There is also an interesting connecting link between admiral lord Collingwood and the Dawson family, whose monument has been brought to light in the Athol chantry. Mr. Cuthbert Collingwood, father to admiral Collingwood, was bound apprentice for ten years to Mr. Christopher Dawson, merchant adventurer and boothman, and took up his freedom in 1737, having then one month and ten days yet to serve as apprentice. Mr. John Clayton, commenting on this fact in his valuable 'Notes on Lord Collingwood,'⁷ says, 'The Company of Merchant Adventurers comprised three ancient companies, the Mercers, the Drapers, and the Boothmen otherwise merchants of corn.' Lord Collingwood was therefore a freeman of Newcastle by patrimony, through a relative of the John Dawson whose monument has been discovered in the chantry of the Holy Trinity, St. Andrew's.

⁷ *Arch. Ael.* vol. xiii. p. 167.

To the east of the Dawson monument is the fragment of a monument with the brief inscription: 'The Burial place of Thomas Davison.'

In the year 1611 we find Alexander Davison sheriff of Newcastle in 1626, and again in 1638 he was elected mayor. During the second year of his mayoralty king Charles I. visited Newcastle, and was entertained by the mayor with more than usual magnificence, in return for which he received the honour of knighthood. During the siege of Newcastle in 1644 he was one of the defenders of the town against the Scottish invaders. On the mural tablet to his memory in St. Nicholas's church it is recorded that 'during the siege of this Town of Newcastle, while fighting courageously the attacking Army of the Scotch rebels (almost eighty years of age), he bravely breathed his last.'

Thomas Davison in 1633, sir Alexander Davison in 1644, and sir Thomas Davison in 1666, gave handsome legacies to the poor of St. Andrew's parish. Nor were the descendants of these worthy Tynesiders less benevolent than their ancestors. Mrs. Ann Davison founded a hospital for six widows of 'protestant clergymen, merchants, and freemen of Newcastle;' and Thomas Davison, with his sister, founded another hospital for six unmarried women, under the same roof with those intended for the widows, and also for 'six unmarried men, poor and decayed burgesses of Newcastle,' founded by their relative, sir Walter Blackett. These charities are yet known as the Davison hospital, in the Manors.

The following record of purchase of grave space, taken from the parish register, is of interest:—

Sold to Mr. Thomas Davison a Burial place in St. Andrew's Church in Newcastle upon Tine, in the North Porch, containing in length Eight foott, and in breadth five foott and a half, to the East of John Dawson's Burial Place.

Rec^d for part Acc^t 00 : 10 : 09.

March 25th, 1711.

It will be seen that the position of the two burial places of Mr. Thomas Davison and John Dawson in the chantry corresponds with the terms of this official agreement. To the south of the Davison monument, and close to the chancel, on a fragment of stone is sculptured in delicately-cut Italian letters, an inscription, almost illegible, in memory of ' . . . Wright. Ann, his wife, departed

the . . . ye 11th day of May, 1697.' The name reminds the present generation of a former inhabitant of the parish in 1664, who is recorded in the churchwardens' books to have paid for 'A house in ye Hooksters Boothe in the possession of Ralph Wright, 00 : 02 : 08.'

Alongside of this fragment of Wright's monument is a large smooth slab ; on the upper part are two distinct crosses, and on the lower end has been rudely carved the letters J. D. Conjecture as to the original use of this large stone is useless; the inscription, if there ever was one, is now past deciphering. It may have been the original altar slab of the chantry in pre-Reformation times, used subsequently as the gravestone of a Novocastrian.⁸

The next monument is in excellent preservation, and in clear-cut letters we read: 'The Burial Place of John Langlands, Goldsmith.' No date is given, but we know that he was admitted a member of the Goldsmiths' company in 1754, and was in business in 1795. The communion cups of the church were made by him. The churchwardens' books inform us that, 'In 1686 then was Paid to Mr. Ramsey for mending the Silver Cup, 00 : 07 : 00.' Again, in 1687, the same expence is recorded, 'Mr. Ramsey for mending the silver cup, 0 : 7 : 0.'⁹

These two names belonging to the Goldsmiths' guild of Newcastle found associated with St. Andrew's church, are more frequently seen on the communion plate of the Northumberland and Durham churches than is that of any other Newcastle goldsmith. The communion vessels of many churches in our northern counties bear the mark of William Ramsey, with dates from 1681 to 1687, while the mark of John Langlands may be seen on many others bearing dates from 1754 to 1792.

The other monuments did not belong originally to the chantry, but were discovered in 1844, when extensive alterations took place in the south transept. Under the east window of the chantry, on a portion raised a few inches above the level of the floor, are six old gravestones, which are of special interest. At this spot the original altar stood ; no burials took place under it. The slabs, placed where

⁸ Altar slabs have often been used in this second-hand way.

⁹ These entries cannot possibly refer to either of the present cups, which some would have us to believe, but to one which preceded them. It must have been in very bad condition to need so much repair.—ED. See *Proc.* vii. p. 122.

the new side altar will stand, could not have found a more fitting position.

The first monument to the north has no date upon it. The inscription reads:—

This the Buriall place of | ANTHONY YOUNGER | *Tanner* and alice his wife |
and their Children | W. Younger.

It would be a relative of this Anthony Younger who, at a meeting of the guild in the year 1644, had a serious charge to make against a brother freeman:—

Roger Younger complains against Cha. Clarke for abusing him in the Spittle in calling him dissembling knave, and he would prove it.

The adjoining grave cover has been of the usual seventeenth-century pattern—the inscription running round the edges of the monument, and the arms of the guild, or private family, in the middle of the stone. It appears to read round the verge:—
‘[Cross-bones] This is [skull] The Bu [cross-bones] | Riall Place
of Thomas Burne Miller who De [cross-bones] | parted the 16 day
[cross-bones] | of August 1681 and his daughter;’ the inscription is continued in the centre: ‘who deParted | This Life the 26 |
day of January An^o | 1680.’

The next monument is in excellent preservation, and is embellished with a beautifully executed design of the tanners’ coat of arms (a bull’s face between two fountains in chief, a tree in base). The inscription reads:—

The Buriall place of | THOMAS WINSHIP tanner | & IANE his wife and their |
Children | She departed the | 13 of feb^r: Anno 1689. | He departed the 2^d of
Septem^b | Anno 1695.

Next to it, is the following:—

The Burial place of | NICKHOLAS FENWICK | *Merchant* who departed | this
life the 14th of december, | Anno 1725 aged 62 years | SARAH his wife de-
parted | this life March the 26th day | Anno 1732 Aged 60 years | Hannah
Fenwick, Spinster | Ob: 3th July 1780 Eta: 48 | Anne Wife of Tho^s Fenwick
Esq^r | of EABSDON died 11 July 17 . . |

The Winship family have not left any distinct impression upon the history of the parish. It is different with the Fenwick family.

To the north of the Winship and Fenwick monument is a well-known gravestone, on which is sculptured round the verge:—

HEARE LYETH THE | BODY OF RAPH ROWMAYNE TANNER AND | |
 ROWMAYN TANNER AND THERE WIVES |

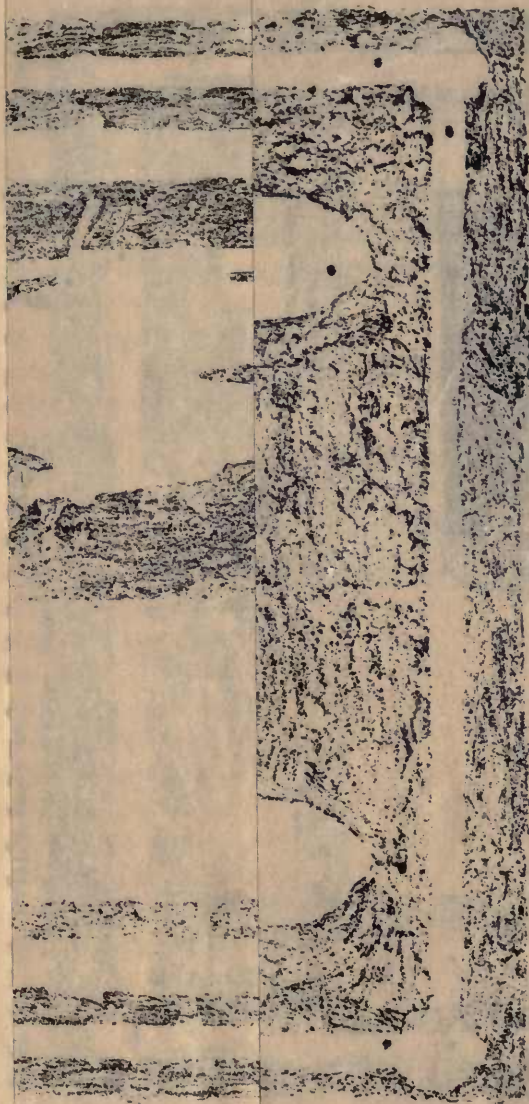
which is continued in the centre :—

AND CHILDRY | RAPH DEPTED | THE 16 OF DE | CEMBER 1587 | RICHARD
 ROMAYNE DEPTED THE 30 OF | MARCH 1629 ALSO | THOMAS ROW | MAYN
 CORDENER | SOVN TO RICHARD | HE DEPTED THE 1 | OF DECEMBER | 1639.

The inscription is followed by the tanners' arms. At the bottom of the stone are 'The Burial place of | MARGARET OLIVER' and 'The Burial place of Wm. Procter.'

This monument of the Rowmaynes stood for fifty years against the outside of the church tower, and interested all visitors by its quaint lettering. The names of the first proprietors of the monument, the Rowmaynes, are graven round the edges of the stone; the other names are given in the middle, with the tanners' coat of arms at the foot of the stone. The names of Margaret Oliver and Wm. Proctor are given below the tanners' arms. The Rowmayne family were influential citizens of Newcastle; they stood fourth in the rate books of the parish in 1691, when they paid £3 10s. for rates. Whether Margaret Oliver and Wm. Proctor were relatives of the family is perhaps difficult to prove, yet the importance of each family can be easily verified. In 1691 William Oliver was rated in the church books to the sum of £5 for 'House and Mill.' In 1684 William Procter was sheriff, and in 1714 Thomas Proctor 'built a Pew on the South Isle at the west,' for which 'he paid yearly and every year one shilling at Whitsuntide.'

The next gravestone is of great interest, and carries the mind back to the twelfth and thirteenth century. No name or date appears, a plain incised cross, with a mason's or carpenter's square, is all that is given to indicate the religious faith and worldly occupation of the old Newcastle worthy. This stone also stood outside of the church tower for fifty years. Its present position is more fitting for its preservation and association with its original use.



Scale 0

3 Feet.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM A RUBBING BY O. J. CHARLTON, FEB. 1896

Sir Hymer de Athol and wife Mary, 1387.

ST. ANDREW'S, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

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IIIA.—NOTE ON THE ATHOL MATRIX IN ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH,
NEWCASTLE. BY MR. O. J. CHARLTON.

IN May, 1894, during alterations in the chantry of the Holy Trinity, St. Andrew's, Newcastle, there was brought to light the slab bearing the matrix of the once magnificent brass of sir Aymer de Athol, by whom the chantry was probably founded towards the close of the fourteenth century. The slab, which lies nearly in the centre of the chantry floor, has fortunately been left uncovered. It is of great size, measuring eleven feet three inches in length by four feet eight inches in breadth and seven inches in thickness. From the indents on it the following particulars can be made out. The brasses of the knight and his wife occupied the centre of the slab, hers being on the dexter side. Beneath their feet was an inscription plate, from the ends of which rose the shafts of a fine double canopy with one centre and two outside pinnacles. There were two shields of arms above the canopy, and two below the foot inscription. A border fillet, with rose-shaped evangelistic symbols in the angles, surrounded the whole. The knight wore a pointed bascinet, a misericorde at the dexter hip, and a sword on the sinister side. His feet, in sharply pointed collerets of seven lames, with rowelled spurs and gussets of mail showing at the instep, rested on a spotted leopard. The lady was attired in a long gown, and her head reposed on two tasselled cushions set crosswise. The matrix is in fair preservation, with many of the brass rivets remaining.

The only portion of the brass now left, the feet of the knight, with the leopard below, is preserved in the Society's museum in the Black gate. The loss of the rest is particularly to be deplored; the whole composition was of quite the finest period, and was a large and splendid example of that class of monument which, unfortunately, is all too uncommon in these northern counties.

IV.—OBITUARY NOTICES OF DECEASED MEMBERS.

1.—PROFESSOR GEORGE STEPHENS, of Copenhagen, LL.D., F.S.A.,
etc., Honorary Member.

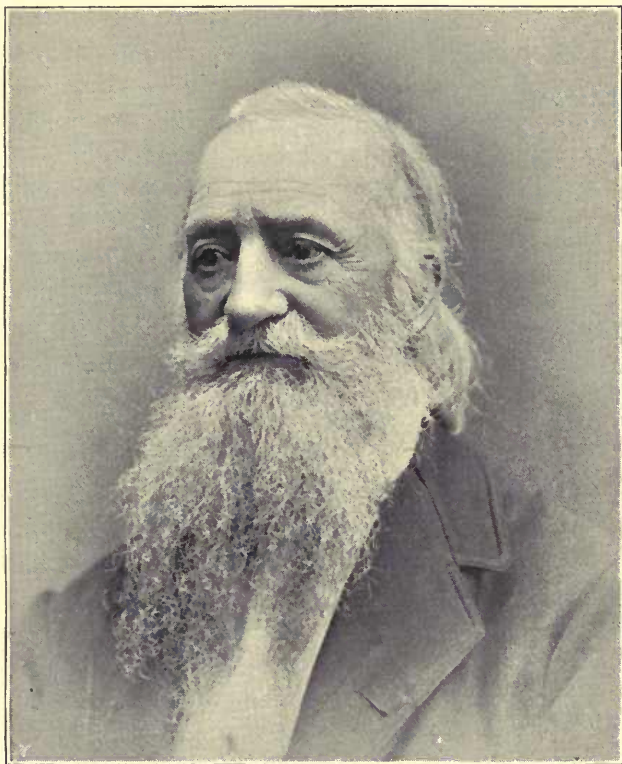
By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A., etc., Secretary.

[Read on the 30th October, 1895.]

WITH deep regret we have to record the death of professor George Stephens of Copenhagen, the patriarch of Scandinavian archaeology and an honorary member of our Society.

Professor Stephens was one of the rather small class of Englishmen who have settled and found a home neither under the Union Jack nor the Stars and Stripes. The son of a Wesleyan minister (the rev. John Stephens of Ongar, Essex), George Stephens was born at Liverpool in 1813. His academic education was received at University college, London, of which he must have been one of the earliest students. His strong philological bias caused him, while still a young man, to undertake extensive journeys in order to study the local dialects of Great Britain and Scandinavia. Shortly after his marriage (to Miss Maria Bennett), which took place in 1834, he settled in Stockholm, where it is believed he adopted the profession of a teacher. In 1851, however, he removed to Copenhagen, having received the appointment of professor of English Language and Literature in the university of that city, which he held till 1894.

The life-labour of professor Stephens was the study of old Runes. While strictly contending for the specially Sandinavian (or to use his own phrase Scando-Anglian) character of this interesting script, he heartily accepted the rev. Isaac Taylor's brilliant suggestion that it was originally derived from the Greek colonies of Thrace and the Euxine, being carried by Gothic tribes along the valleys of the Dnieper and the Vistula, and so reaching the Scandinavian lands, all which probably occurred six or seven centuries before Christ. But he strenuously combated the theory of 'so-called German Runes,' and in his bitter attacks on the German 'annexers,' who wished to wrest the Runic alphabet from his beloved Scandinavians, may be heard some echoes



*Your friend & servant,
George Stephens.*

of the war of 1864, which resulted in the dismemberment of Denmark by the overwhelming might of Germany. He seems to have been all his life a keen politician, and in his published pamphlets there are to be found some pretty sharp attacks on European or English statesmen who had roused his anger.

One of the points for which professor Stephens strenuously contended was that the 15th letter in the Runic alphabet Ψ , which undoubtedly had in the later Scandinavian inscriptions the power of M, was originally and for many centuries equivalent to A. Here also Isaac Taylor agrees with Stephens in the main, at least he says that, 'though originally descended from a guttural, it cannot be doubted that in some inscriptions it has the power of a vowel' (*Greek and Goths*, 84-5). The fourth Rune *F*, to which most preceding scholars had assigned the value of A, must, according to Stephens, be read (in the earlier inscriptions) as $\mathcal{A}E$. Here, also, he is in general agreement with Taylor, who derives this Rune-letter from the Greek Epsilon.

Another of Stephens's main points was 'that the whole modern doctrine of one uniform classical, more or less Icelandic, language all over the immense north, from Finland and Halogoland to the Eider and the Thames, in the first thousand years after Christ, is an impossible absurdity,' that Icelandic, as we now know it, is a peculiarly developed and artificial dialect, and that 'in one word, to translate the oldest Runic inscriptions written in their local floating dialects from 200 to 700 or 800 A.D., into a modern uniformised "Icelandic" of the 13th or 14th century, is as reasonable as it would be to read Latin monuments from the times of the Kings and the Republic, as if they answered to the classical dialect of Florentine Dante.' Evidently this question of the language with which the Runes are to be read is one of primary importance to the decipherer of Runic inscriptions.

Though perhaps sometimes hasty in forming his own conclusion, Stephens saw clearly the dangers of premature and precipitate criticism. As he himself says at the end of one of his 'forewords': 'The present rage for infallibly fixing everything all at once is highly to be deprecated. Future finds and the progress of Runic studies will doubtless modify some things here given. We shall know more a hundred years hence than we do now.'

An amusing instance of the errors into which over-speed in coming to a conclusion might betray the critic was furnished by Stephens himself in his interpretation of the famous Brough inscription. In his handbook, published in 1884, he attempted to read this inscription as Runic, commemorating a certain 'Ingalang in Buckenhome.' He made, it must be confessed, very poor sense out of it, and in June of the same year professor Sayce published a letter in the *Academy* showing quite clearly that the characters were Greek, and by his labours and those of other scholars five very tolerable Greek hexameters recording the death or disappearance of a young lad named Hermes have been recovered out of the chaos of the supposed Runic epigraph. Perhaps no one was more amused at this involuntary mystification than Stephens himself. He frankly acknowledged his error, 'for which,' he said good humouredly, 'I ought to be beaten.' It must be stated, however, that the Greek professor at the University of Copenhagen declared repeatedly that the inscription was not Greek.

Professor Stephens published a great number of pamphlets, archaeological, literary, even political, both in Danish and English, but his *magnum opus* was his book in three folio volumes, *The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England now first collected and deciphered* (Copenhagen, 1860-1884). A fourth volume of this work will be published posthumously about the close of the year, and will complete the catalogue of hitherto discovered Runic inscriptions. He also published, in 1884, a handsome quarto volume containing the more important inscriptions. This he called a *Handbook to the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*. We are informed that he was engaged in the last years of his life on the dialects of the north of England. The members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries have especial reasons for hoping that the result of these labours may not be lost to the world.

In this notice of his literary labours it is impossible to avoid some allusion to the peculiar language in which he wrote. He had all professor Freeman's horror of using a Latin or Greek word if a word of Teutonic or, better still, of Scandinavian origin could be found to serve the purpose. Thus a photograph is with him always a 'light-bild,' an antiquary is an 'old-lorist,' parchment is 'skin-book,' and so

on. His spelling also is sometimes phonographic. A few sentences from the preface to his handbook will give a good idea of the general effect which is thus produced.

‘Foreword.

I have often been askt to publish in a cheap and handy shape the rune-laves in my great folio volumes which many cannot well buy or have time to read. And this I have long wisht to do: but I waited for more finds and a better knowledge of this hard science. The day has now come when I can lay this HANDBOOK before all lovers of our Northern mother-tung. Sametimely with my *third folio tome*, which holds more than 70 new pieces bearing Old-Northern staves. (The whole tale of these O.N. rune-laves is now about 250, of which nearly 1-third is from ENGLAND ALONE, Scandinavia’s oldest colony.) This additional gathering and the onflow of Runic studies have, of course, thrown fresh light on the monuments already known.’

The venerable professor celebrated his *diamond* wedding on the 16th of January, 1894. Our member, Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson, called upon him in Copenhagen on the 6th of August, 1895; he was then very ill, but his British pluck kept him in his library at work a few hours each day until the 7th, when his work ended. He conversed with Mr. Hodgson freely on subjects of archaeological interest, and presented him with copies of his published pamphlets. On the morning of the 9th he passed peacefully away, full of years and honour. He was a lion-like man, an ardent and truth-seeking scholar, one whom England may well be proud of having lent for sixty years to her Scandinavian sisters.

2.—WILLIAM WOODMAN, one of the Vice Presidents.

By J. CRAWFORD HODGSON.

[Read on the 30th October, 1895.]

He who learns from the old, to what is he like?

‘To one who eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine.’

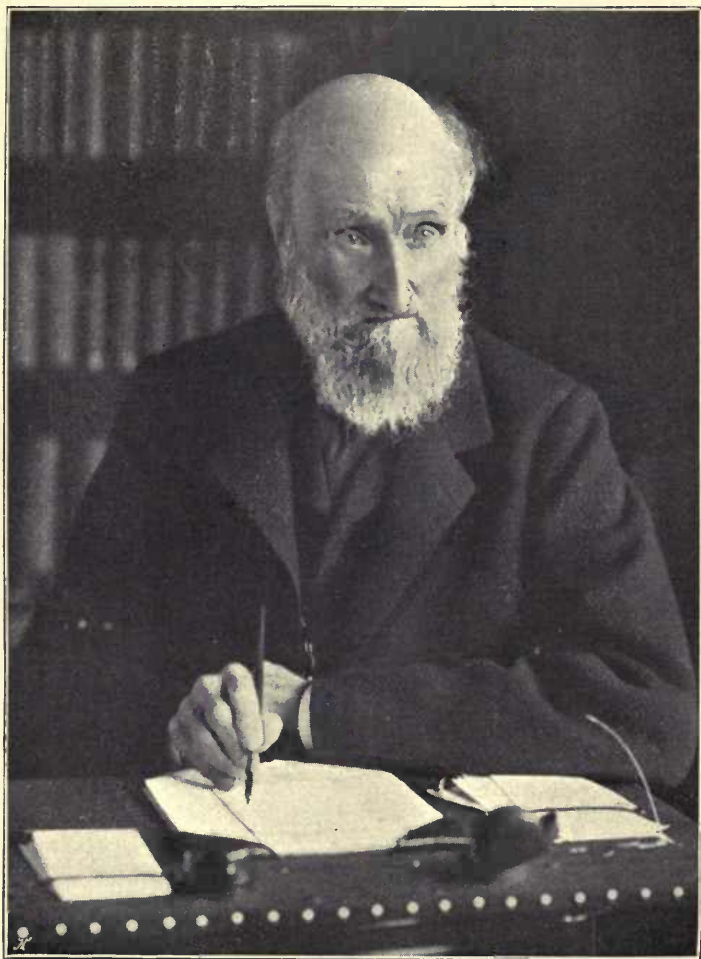
—*The Ethics of the Fathers.*

ABOUT the middle of the seventeenth century, Heron’s Close, in the chapelry of Hebburn, was purchased by Thomas Woodman a Hexham yeoman, and thenceforth became the seat and home of the

family. His great grandson, who bore the same christian name, married Isabella Newton, of the Hawkwell family, and had three sons, of whom the second, William, born *circa* 1737, was apprenticed to Richard Fenwick, tanner and freeman of Morpeth. After serving his time as an apprentice, William Woodman was admitted free of the Tanners' Company, and established himself in that respectable (and at that time lucrative) trade, which was then, and for a hundred years to come, the most important industry of the town. He married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Bennet, of an influential Morpeth family. His eldest surviving son, Benjamin, born in 1766, followed his father's calling, and was a man of strong determined character, who a great number of times filled with honour the office of bailiff, and with disinterestedness and public spirit served his native town in many ways. His reading was wide and extensive in the days when reading meant acquisition and assimilation of knowledge rather than pastime. By his marriage with Frances, daughter of Edward Wilson of Ulgham, he connected himself with that respectable family as well as with the Cooks of Togston and Blakemoor, the Lawsons of Longhirst, Old Moor, and of Ulgham, the Fenwicks of Ulgham, the Smiths of Togston, and the congeries of gentle and yeomanly families which parcelled the district between the Coquet and Wansbeck. Of this marriage the third child and eldest surviving son is the subject of our notice.

William Woodman was born at Morpeth on the 19th March, 1806, was educated at the king Edward VI. grammar school in his native town, a care which he afterwards repaid a thousandfold, becoming to that school 'the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths,' and almost its second founder. He afterwards proceeded to Bruce's school in Newcastle, where he formed friendships which helped to direct and develop the tastes cultivated in after years, and which continued through life.

In his school days (as Mr. Woodman has told the writer) the Christmas holidays began on the 16th December, 'O Sapientia,' when the boys brought horns, bored and polished, to school, and made sweet music as they went homeward : on Christmas Eve they called at well nigh every door asking for Hogmanay. On the Tuesday before Lent the schools and shops were closed, so that pancakes might be



Wm. Woodman

made and eaten : on the Monday and Tuesday of Easter week the boys resorted to the North Field with paste eggs and to play ball : on Royal Oak day, having provided themselves with oak branches, they repaired to school early, said their lessons, and had holiday after 8 a.m. : at Midsummer they resorted to the woods with branches of the rowan ; and they were also in evidence at the fair, boulder-riding, and on municipal feasts. Mr. Woodman has often spoken to the writer of the reception of the news of the battle of Waterloo, and of his being seated in the following year in the emperor Napoleon's travelling carriage, a small brougham, with half the seat extended to the front to serve as a table.

Mr. Woodman was articled to Mr. Anthony Charlton, an attorney of repute in Morpeth, was admitted an attorney in Hilary term, 1832, and established himself in the exercise of his profession. His ability, industry, and single-eyed devotion to the true interests of his clients soon procured a large share of the best class of business from the outside, as well as a preponderating influence within the town. He was elected to various public offices, and became successively town clerk of Morpeth, clerk to the justices of the West and South divisions of Coquetdale Ward, clerk to the Rothbury Poor Law Guardians, and treasurer of the County Courts of Northumberland and Durham.

Besides taking an active and leading part in the changes which followed the reform of parliamentary and municipal representation and government, and the transfer of the duties, responsibilities, and powers which followed the latter, he was also engaged in the protracted negotiations which preceded the decisive selection of the route of the North-Eastern railway. To him it is largely owing that Morpeth is an important station on the main line between London and Edinburgh, and not merely connected with it by a loop line or branch. In 1849 he prepared the evidence presented at the public enquiry held, under the Public Health Act, by Mr. (afterwards sir) Robert Rawlinson, an enquiry which led to a revolution in the sanitary condition of Morpeth.

But the case in which his keen insight, his wide grasp and marvellous aptitude for details, attracted the greatest interest and closest attention, was that known as the 'Morpeth grammar school suit.'

The royal grammar school of Morpeth was founded by king Edward VI. on an older foundation, and by him was endowed with the lands of the suppressed chantry of St. Giles. The chief part of the lands lay at Netherwitton, where they had 'for some centuries been held by the Thornton family, till the landlord and tenant alike forgot there were lands, and honestly imagined that the sum paid and received was but a money payment to which the land was liable.' From 1685 the annual sum paid was £45, but in 1710 the master of the school, who, as master, was a beneficiary of the trust of which the bailiffs were the trustees, deeming this rent inadequate, commenced an action in the Court of Chancery, and obtained a decision that the school was entitled to the lands. A compromise was agreed upon that £2,000 should be invested in lands, and that until this was done £100 a year should be paid. This payment continued until 1832, when Mr. Woodman, acting for the then master of the school, revived the suit. The court again decreed that the school was entitled to the lands, and held the compromise to be invalid, but threw upon the plaintiff the duty of pointing where the lands were. This was the task to which Mr. Woodman addressed himself, and it was one which required all his ripened experience and penetrative mind. In 1685 'the lands at Netherwitton had been neither divided nor enclosed, and the portion belonging to the charity lay intermixed in the common fields.' In order, therefore, to recover the charity lands, it was necessary to distinguish them from the rest of the land of the township. The evidence collected fills many folio volumes, and convinced the court that a large proportion of the township belonged to the school, in redemption of which the large sum of £15,000 was accepted by the trustees. As a public recognition of Mr. Woodman's exertions in bringing the suit to such a termination, a service of plate, the result of a public subscription, was presented to him in 1857.

As early as 1832 a graceful tribute was paid to Mr. Woodman's literary ability and archaeological skill by the rev. John Hodgson, who, in the preface to the second or Morpeth volume of his parochial history of Northumberland wrote :—'The active mind and ready pen of Mr. Woodman, solicitor, in Morpeth, left me comparatively little to do in searching for material for my account of the corporation of that

town, in which, however copious it may seem, I have inserted only a very small part of the information he has given me.' He rendered substantial help to Mr. J. H. Parker in the preparation of his *Domestic Architecture in England in the Fourteenth Century*, to the rev. J. T. Fowler in the editing of the *Newminster Chartulary* (the original of which he was the means of rescuing from loss and oblivion and placing with the earl of Carlisle), and to many other writers. After the formation of the Northumberland County History Committee he read most of the proofs of the first two volumes, and rendered to a work which is intended to complete and supplement the labours of the great historian of Northumberland, help not less valuable than that acknowledged by the latter over sixty years ago.

Mr. Woodman's published papers though not numerous are valuable, among them are *Ulgham and its Story*, published anonymously; on 'Chibburn,' printed in the *Archaeological Journal*; 'On a Leaden Seal of Henry IV. found at Catchburn,' in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*; 'Reminiscences and Desultory Notes of Morpeth Social Customs now obsolete,' written in 1894 and printed in the *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*. Among his numerous literary correspondents were numbered Mr. John Mitchel Kemble, Mr. Frederick Seebohm, the rev. Lambert Larking, sir Henry Maine, the second and third earls Grey, sir George Grey, and the duke of Argyle. His magnificent collections of MSS., plans, and drawings relating chiefly to Morpeth and district have yielded documents and facts freely placed by him at the service of other enquirers and writers.

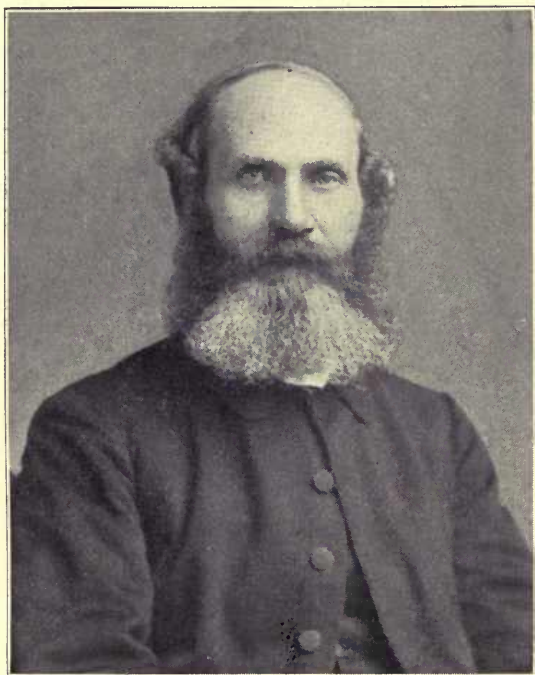
Mr. Woodman was elected a member of this Society in 1848, and subsequently a vice-president. He died at his residence at the East Riding, near Morpeth, *inter sylvas et flumina habitans*, on the 19th September, 1895, in his 90th year, leaving, out of a family of eight sons and daughters, four surviving children.

3.—THE REV. GEORGE ROME HALL, F.S.A., a Vice-President of the Society. By R. CECIL HEDLEY.

[Read on the 27th November, 1895.]

DEATH has lately deprived this society of several of its most respected and most gifted members. We have, as a society, but the poor satisfaction of knowing that they have left the impress of their learn-

ing and personalities not only upon our local, but upon our national archaeology. But who can fill their places with us ? Who amongst us that have had the privilege of their friendship or association, but must feel the loss of the scholarly John Clayton ? of our genial, kindly, and beloved Dr. Bruce ? who was so much a part of, as to be almost synonymous with, the society ; of the gentle, unassuming, kindly, and erudite George Rome Hall ? the impersonation of all our best traditions of the antiquary of a time that is passing from us. It was my privilege to have frequent association with Mr. Hall, and never have I met one whose every thought was so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of true loving kindness, or one who had such a perfect unselfishness. This, as a man ; as an antiquary, the pages of *The Archaeologia* and of the *Archaeologia Aeliana* bear the frequent impress of his learning and research since 1865. He was elected a member of our society on the fourth of January of that year, and was thus one of our oldest members. His archaeological bent was strongly towards the obscure, and somewhat neglected period of our national life, known vaguely as 'prehistoric.' To him we are indebted for the first systematic attempt to examine, describe, and elucidate the life and early history of the Ancient Britons of Northumbria, as it is to be learned from an intelligent examination of their dwellings and fortifications. He did much to rescue this study from reproach as a merely speculative amusement, and to elevate it into a branch of science. It has been the well deserved privilege of Dr. D. Christison, the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to obtain for this section of archaeology the recognition it deserves. To all his studies the late Mr. Hall brought a vast store of well digested reading, a persistent patience, and a vigorous intellect, capable of readily seeing, and as rapidly estimating the value of even trivial circumstances in their bearing on any obscure subject. To this he added the faculty of communicating his ideas lucidly and pleasantly to others. In his method of treating any archaeological subject could be seen his natural, thorough, and instinctive love of it. It was an education to converse with him. He was a living proof of how deep learning may be unobtrusive, unassuming, and not dogmatic ; of how it may be a source of pleasure to the possessor and to others, and not the incentive to wordy strife. He had by natural



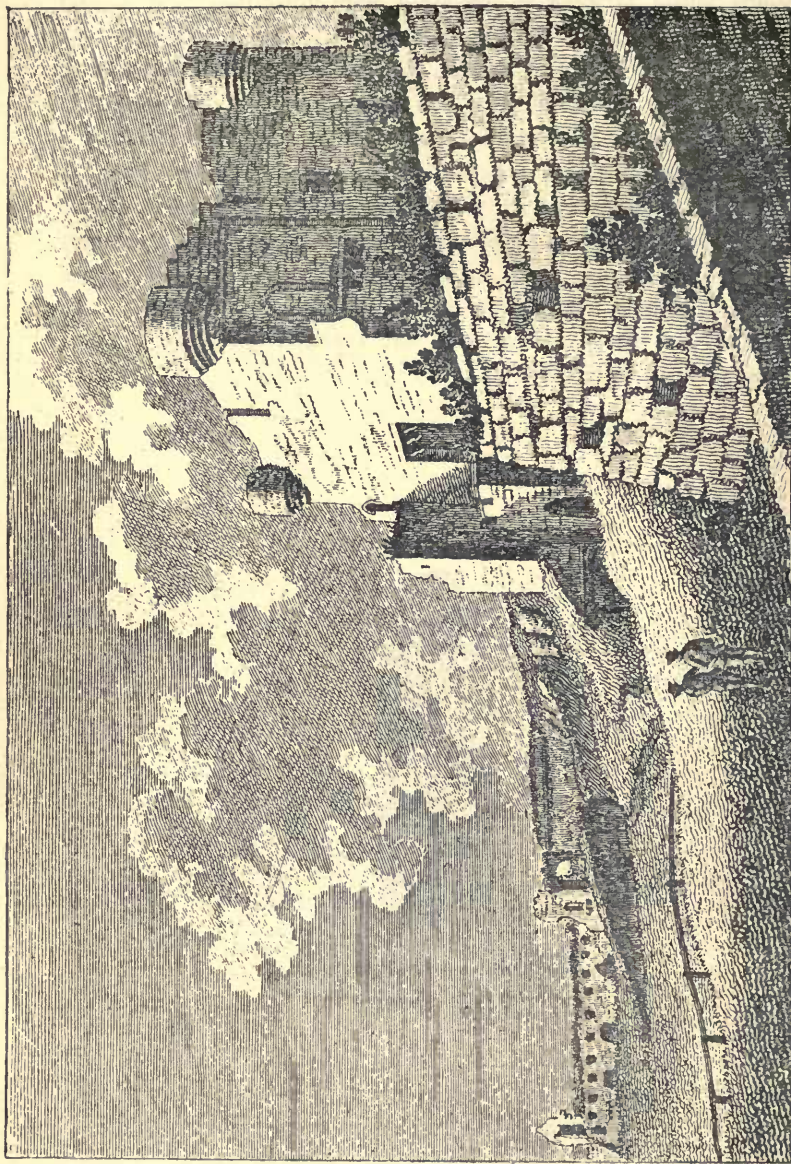
*very Sincerely Yours,
G. Rome Hall.*

gentleness and self-culture attained to that best of all Parnassian heights where learning is combined with toleration, and mental attainments devoid of all Phariseism. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, a vice-president of this society, and a member of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society, and of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club. His library was extensive and well selected. He had a small collection of neolithic implements, and an extensive series of Roman coins, chiefly from Coventina's well at *Procolitia*. His loss will long be felt amongst us, especially at our field meetings. The truest testimony to a man's greatness is the measure of the gap left by his death. To Mrs. Hall and her family the keen and heartfelt sympathy of us all will go forth in their affliction.



FLINT IMPLEMENT FROM CHOLLERFORD.

(Formerly in Mr. Hall's collection.)



THE GATEWAY OF TYNEMOUTH CASTLE IN 1773, FROM THE INTERIOR.
(Reproduced from the copperplate in *Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales*.)

V.—TYNEMOUTH CASTLE AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERY.

By HORATIO A. ADAMSON, a Vice-President of the Society.

[Read on the 27th November and 18th December, 1895.]

ON the 12th of January, 1539, Robert Blakeney, prior of the monastery of Tynemouth and his convent, with their unanimous assent and consent, and of their mere motion, and of their free will and accord from certain just and reasonable causes, especially touching their souls and consciences, surrendered to their illustrious prince and lord in Christ, Henry the eighth, the monastery of the order of St. Benedict with all its extensive possessions—so reads the deed of surrender. When we know of the cruel death of the venerable abbot of Glastonbury and his subsequent dismemberment for his refusal to surrender his abbey, we can better understand the motive which actuated the prior and his convent to surrender their monastery. Prior Blakeney was the last of a long line of priors who had carried on their religious work upon the bold and bleak promontory which jutted into the North Sea at the entrance to the river Tyne.

It is not my intention to enter into the causes which led to the surrender, or the ruthless manner in which the illustrious prince dealt with the monasteries which he suppressed in the years 1536 and 1539. It is a humiliating chapter in our history.

Prior Blakeney retired to his manor house at Benwell on a pension which is stated by some authorities to have been £50 and by others £80 a year.

Within the walls of the castle at the time of the dissolution of the monastery stood the stately church dedicated to SS. Mary and Oswin; one portion, the beautiful Transitional east end, with its imposing lancet windows, was the monastic church; the other portion, to the westward of, but only separated from it by a screen, was the parochial church, the ruins of which are the first to meet the eye of the visitor as he enters the gate of the castle. They occupy the nave of the Norman church. In addition to the church there were the usual monastic buildings, which are shown in a plan drawn

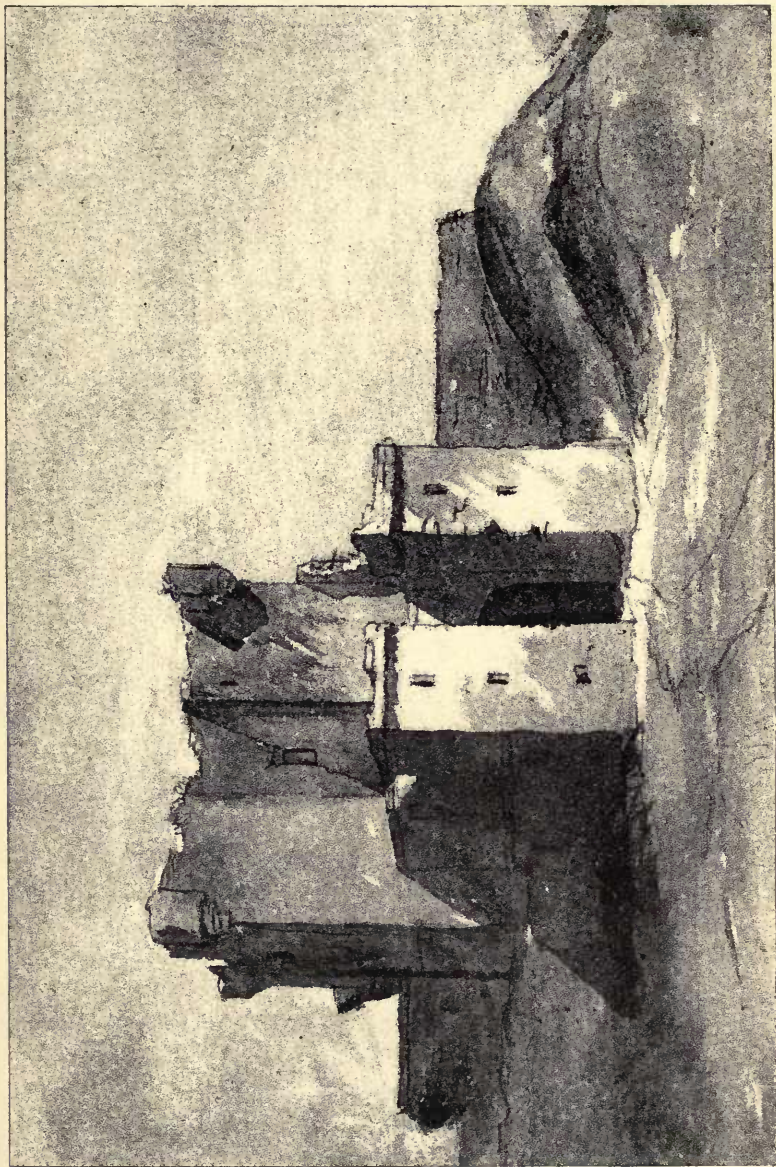
in the time of queen Elizabeth, to which I shall hereafter refer.¹ I think it may be assumed that the buildings shown upon this plan were all standing at the time of the dissolution of the monastery. Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1558, and it is improbable any constructive work would be carried on in the short period of twenty years ; that there was much destructive work on the priory church we know too well.

The monastery remained in the hands of the king for about two months. On the 9th of March, 1539, it, with all its buildings within the site and precincts of the same, was demised to sir Thomas Hilton, knight, for twenty-one years, at an annual rent of £163 1s. 5d. The king reserved the castle, with the herbage of the castle dyke or foss. Sir Thomas Hilton was high sheriff of Northumberland in 1548. He was one of the Hiltons of Hilton castle, near Sunderland, and was four times married, but died childless. The castle was in the custody of a constable for the king's use.

In 1543 the king granted a commission to sir Richard Lee, Antonio de Bergoman and John Thomas Scala, Italians, experts in the skill of fortifications, to view the state of Tynemouth. In preparation for an invasion of Scotland in March, 1544, John Dudley, lord high admiral, came round to Tynemouth with a fleet of two hundred ships, from which they sailed with ten thousand men for the Firth of Forth. In the following year, while the war with Scotland was still pending, the earl of Shrewsbury and his colleagues reported that they had taken measures for protecting the 'new fortifications' at Tynemouth, and had directed a cannon, a saker, two falcons, and two slings to be sent thither from Newcastle. Among the English army at this time was a number of mercenaries. There were fifteen hundred Spaniards and five hundred Spanish *hackbutiers* (horsemen).² Whether the 'new fortifications' were those at the Spanish battery or were in the castle itself I am not aware. It is probable the Spanish battery may have obtained its name from some of the Spanish troops having been quartered in it. The earl of Hertford wrote to the king about the disposal of the hot-blooded southrons, and suggested that they should be placed at Newcastle, as they grumbled about being kept near the borders.

In 1550, Tynemouth is mentioned as being 'one of the King's Majesty's Castles and fortresses within the Middle Marches.'

¹ See p. 77. ² *Hackbutiers* were also foot soldiers armed with the arquebus.



"THE DRAFTER" GEORGE & CO. LONDON

TYNEMOUTH CASTLE. *Circa 1780.*
FROM A DRAWING IN THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY.

There is a grant on the 8th December, 1551, from king Edward the sixth to Dudley, earl of Warwick, who was created duke of Northumberland, of the site, circuit, compass, and precincts of the late monastery of Tynemouth, and all the demesne lands, which had been leased to sir Thomas Hilton. No mention is made in this grant of the castle; but in the following year the duke of Northumberland exchanged the site of the monastery, *with the castle of Tynemouth*, for lands in Wilts, York, and Norfolk.

Queen Mary, on the 16th August, 1557, demised to Thomas, earl of Northumberland, for twenty-one years, from the feast of the Annunciation in 1560, the monastery. This was the year in which the lease to sir Thomas Hilton would expire. In the summer of 1559 sir Henry Percy was appointed by queen Elizabeth to the charge of Tynemouth castle upon the death of sir Thomas Hilton. In a letter, dated 10th January, 1559/60, from the queen to the duke of Norfolk, she says:—‘We did the last sommer appoynt Sir Henry Percy Kt: upon the death of Sir T. Hilton to take charge of Tynemouth, being a place necessary to be well guarded and sene to.’ Sir Henry Percy felt his position as governor of the castle an onerous one. In a despatch written from the camp before Leith, on 30th April, 1560, he says:—‘And as for mine own affairs which I have long troubled you in, I mean Tynemouth, I pray you let me not be burthened with so weighty a place as I am and so small Commission to rule the same by, for you know I have kept it this twelve months almost at mine own charges which is too sore a burthen for a younger brother of my ability.’ He did not succeed to the earldom of Northumberland until 1572. On the 13th December, 1561 (third Elizabeth), the queen, by patent, granted to sir Henry Percy the office of governor of the castle, which, it is stated, had been constructed in the place where the monastery lately existed. Tynemouth castle was used as a state prison. In 1563-4, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, afterwards the third husband of Mary, queen of Scots, was confined in the castle under the charge of sir Henry Percy.

Sir Henry Percy must have spent several years at Tynemouth as governor of the castle. He married his cousin Catherine, eldest daughter of John Nevill, last lord Latimer. His son, Henry Percy, afterwards ninth earl of Northumberland, was born at Tynemouth

on the 21st of April, 1564. His son, Thomas, was born there on the 19th of March, 1565, and his daughter, Lucy, in 1567. In a letter which sir Henry Percy wrote on the 27th October, 1566, to sir William Cecil, he made a most extraordinary proposal for the removal of the parish church from the castle. In his letter he said, 'I have already told you the annoyance to this House by the Parish Church being within it and much frequented by the Strangers who visit the Haven. At my request Sir Rich: Lee has inspected it and can report on the cost of a new one and the value of this towards it.' Happily, the suggested act of vandalism was not carried out, or one of our most interesting landmarks would have disappeared.

In 1570, queen Elizabeth granted to sir Henry Percy a new patent of the governorship of the castle upon more favourable terms, and with reversion to his two eldest sons, Henry and Thomas Percy. The receiver of Northumberland was to pay the following fees at Lady Day and Michaelmas :—

To the Captain	...	...	...	...	...	£100	0	0
To the Master Gunner, 12d. per diem	...	...	...	...	...	18	5	0
To 8 other Gunners, at 6d. per diem	73	0	0
To 11 Household Servants, each £6 13s. 4d. per ann.	73	6	8
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Sir Henry Percy was soon to experience a reverse in the royal favour. On the 23rd October, 1571, orders were issued from the Privy Council to sir John Forster to apprehend sir Henry Percy, and to visit Tynemouth castle and report upon its condition. On the 25th October sir John Forster wrote from Seaton Delaval to the Council as follows:—'On your letter for apprehending Sir Henry Percy I sent letters to all suspicious places. I then went myself to all places where I thought he would be likely to repair as Tynemouth. . . . I thought it good to continue the watches a little longer and doubting Tynemouth Castle most, lest he should come thither and keep himself secretly and there take ship and so pass over the seas. I went thither but only found John Metcalf a rebel, late Servant to the Earl of Northumberland who went with him into Scotland, standing at the gates with his keys in his hand, who declared he was the porter, and Thomas Dicam, another Servant of Sir Henry Percy. As I disliked Metcalf I appointed certain men

to remain there with them.' On the receipt of another letter as to the condition of the castle, which was stated to have been greatly neglected, and the ordnance almost useless, Percy was committed to the Tower. In the following year he was indicted for conspiring with others for the delivery of Mary, queen of Scots, out of the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. He confessed his guilt, and a fine of five thousand marks was imposed on him. In April, 1572, Henry, lord Hunsdon, wrote to lord Burghley and said, 'Sir John Forster hopes to get the keeping of Tynemouth for Sir Francis Russell and has sent him up, and I know of promises made for some officer thereof.'

On the 12th August, 1583, sir Valentine Browne wrote to secretary Walsingham, and urged for the good of her majesty and our country that he should visit Newcastle, with the river and fort standing upon the mouth of the haven, which was called Tynemouth abbey, and so along the sea coast.

In 1584, queen Elizabeth required sir Henry Percy, then earl of Northumberland, to give up the charge of the castle, and he besought her pardon, and among other reasons for not delivering up the keys he gave the following:—

His estate was but small to maintain the countenance of an Earl being charged with 10 Children and the benefit of the office of Tynemouth being a good portion of his living without it would not be able to sustain the charge of housekeeping and the education of his Children. By holding this office he maintains 20 of his old servants who have served him from 10 to 30 years and he has no other means of so doing: if they should be displaced they would be left to beg their bread having been trained up to get their living by service. That disgrace will grow to him in his own country by removal from the office which he tenders as his life and begs Her Majesty to remember his former faithful services to her and Queen Mary her Sister in that time of his hardest fortune.

The earl was committed to the Tower. In the early part of 1585 lord Francis Russell was in possession of the castle. In one of his letters to secretary Walsingham he says the bearer, my deputy, can inform you what lack there is here for munition. The time is dangerous, and her majesty's house here had need be provided. I wrote you for my fee of Tynemouth and am very loath so oft to trouble you, but am constrained by necessity. On the 21st of June, 1585, the earl of Northumberland was found dead in his bed in the

Tower, slain by three bullets from a pistol. On the 26th June, lord Francis Russell wrote from Tynemouth to secretary Walsingham :—

The Lord of Northumberland's death will hardly be believed in this Country to be as you have written. (It was stated the wounds were self-inflicted.) Yet I am fully persuaded and have persuaded others that it was not otherwise. I wish you would be a means to Her Majesty that I might have such commodities belonging to Tynemouth Castle as the Earl of Northumberland had. I am scant able to maintain housekeeping with what I have, and I have sent my man to you for my fee, so that my present wants may be supplied.

I have not been able to ascertain who became governor of the castle after the death of the earl of Northumberland. In 1588, a Mr. Delaval was keeper of the castle. In 1591, Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, was restored to the governorship of the castle. His deputy, in 1594, was Thomas Power. In this year there are some interesting letters about the arrest at North Shields of a Dutchman and a Frenchman, the former being goldsmith and the latter footman to the queen of Scots, who had stolen from her and run away with a chain of pearls, two gold and pearl bracelets, a gold and diamond brooch, four diamond rings, and other articles of the value of eight hundred and five crowns. They were kept in custody in Tynemouth castle, and afterwards taken with the jewels to Berwick and there delivered to the deputy warden of the marches on a Tuesday, and on the Friday following were hanged at Edinburgh. In the letter which mentions the circumstance, it is added, 'such expedition does the King make now a days of justice.' The earl of Northumberland attained a high reputation for the pursuit of those literary and scientific studies to which he afterwards devoted so much of his enforced leisure. His kinsman, Thomas Percy, one of the sons of Edward Percy of Beverley, was made constable of Alnwick castle about 1594. In 1605, he took part in the Gunpowder Plot, and implicated the earl of Northumberland in it, and, in consequence, he was placed under restraint. Sir Henry Witherington (Widdrington) was ordered to take and seized possession of Tynemouth and other castles. On the 23rd June, 1606, by a decree of the Star Chamber the earl of Northumberland was fined £30,000 and ordered to be displaced and removed from every office, honour, or place he held by his majesty's pleasure, and to be returned to the Tower whence he came, and there remain prisoner as before

during the king's pleasure. On the 24th November, 1606, the king required sir Henry Witherington to deliver up Tynemouth castle to sir William Selby, who was sheriff of the county of Northumberland. On the 4th December, 1606, the earl of Northumberland granted sir George Whitehead an annuity of £20 in consideration that he had been dispossessed of his post of lieutenant of Tynemouth castle, the keeping of which it had pleased the king to take away from him. On the 8th April, 1608, there is a letter from the king to the officers of the exchequer as to the profits of the lights at Tynemouth castle which had been received by the earl of Northumberland, out of which he granted to sir Allan Percy, brother of the earl, £40 a year so long as the profits remained in the king's hands. The earl of Northumberland had fallen on evil days. Although every effort was made to connect him with the ill-judged act of his kinsman, whose life paid the forfeit for the act, it was unsuccessful. His estates were, however, sequestrated for the payment of the fine which he described as the greatest fine that was ever imposed upon a subject. In the year 1613, the king agreed to accept £11,000 in payment of the balance of the fine, and on that being paid he granted the earl a full pardon and release, but he kept him a prisoner in the Tower until his birthday in 1622, when he was released after an imprisonment of sixteen years. He died on the 5th November, 1632, on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the discovery of the plot which had cast so dark a shadow over his life. There is much of interest in the life of the earl of Northumberland during the long, dreary years in the Tower. As an indication of his love of books he spent £200 a year in the purchase of them. On his death the grant from the crown, in 1570, of the governorship of Tynemouth castle came to an end. During the incarceration of the earl of Northumberland, sir John Fenwick was captain of the castle. In 1625, he states that the castle was so ruined that he could not remain there.

On the 3rd of June, 1633, the ill-fated king Charles the first entered Newcastle on his way to Scotland to be crowned. He was attended by Laud, bishop of London; White, bishop of Ely; the earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, and Southampton, and other persons of distinction. On the 5th of June he went with his retinue, escorted by the master and brethren of the Trinity house,

Newcastle, to the castle of Tynemouth. He was the last of our monarchs who visited the castle. In the year 1635, the earl of Northumberland was appointed by the king, lord high admiral of the fleet.

In the year 1635, sir William Brereton, bart., the parliamentary general, made a journey through Durham and Northumberland and visited Tynemouth, and described the castle as a dainty seated castle, almost compassed with the sea, wherein hath been the fairest church I have seen in any castle, but now it is out of repair and much neglected.

The earl of Monmouth was captain of Tynemouth castle in 1638. He was ordered to deliver up to the earl of Newport, minister of the ordnance, all his majesty's ordnance, carriages, and furniture to be carried to Newcastle. In the same year, sir Jacob Astley (an ancestor of lord Hastings) and others were sent into the north to inspect the fortifications and muster train bands. In the extracts from the State Papers it is stated the fort of Tynemouth was to be slighted, and a fort made half-a-mile from the same. In the succeeding year he was appointed major-general of the field. In the month of January he inspected the castle, and reported it would be needless to demolish it, because the ground upon which it stood would command all the lower works to the waterside. It was he who, before the battle of Edgehill, offered up the short but celebrated prayer, 'O, Lord, Thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me. March on, Boys.' I commend this prayer to our modern divines.

The year 1640 was a memorable one in the great struggle which had commenced between king Charles the first, his parliament, and his Scottish subjects. On the 30th of August in that year, Tynemouth castle was seized and garrisoned by the Scots. It did not long remain in their possession, as in the year 1642 it was put in a posture of defence for the king by William Cavendish, earl, marquis, and duke of Newcastle, general of the king's forces in the northern parts, and it remained in the possession of the king's forces until October, 1644. In March of that year, when the fort at South Shields was besieged and taken by the Scots, the guns from Tynemouth castle were used for the defence of the fort. On the 26th October, 1644,

articles of agreement for the surrender and delivery of Tynemouth castle were entered into between Alexander, earl of Leven, lord general of the Scottish army, and sir Thomas Riddell, knight. He was a colonel of foot in the king's army, and governor of the castle. The terms were, firstly, that every officer, soldier, gentleman, and clergyman shall march out with bag and baggage, and the officers with their arms; and that such goods as properly belong to them, but which they cannot now take with them, shall be kept for them till set opportunity. Secondly, that the national covenant shall not be enforced either upon officer, soldier, gentleman, or clergyman. Thirdly, that all who stay in their own country shall have protection for their persons and estates, and such as will go to his majesty shall have free pass with a safe convoy. Fourthly, oblivion for all things past in this service to be extended to officers, soldiers, and gentlemen who shall stay at home in their own houses. Fifthly, that sir Thomas Riddell shall deliver up the castle this day, with a perfect list of all arms, ammunition, cannon, and furniture. Sixthly, it is always provided that those who stay at home and have protection for their persons and estates shall be liable to all ordinances of parliament.

By an error in the *Calendar of State Papers* (domestic series) this agreement is entered under the same date in the following year, and this mistake makes some of the events in that year difficult to understand. The castle was surrendered on the 27th of October, 1644. In the journals of the House of Commons, under date November 5th, 1644, it is 'Ordered that Sir Thomas Widdrington do give notice to the preacher to take notice of the surrender of Tynemouth Castle, and that he give thanks therefor in St. Margaret's Church.' In the same month of November, sir Thomas Riddell was in custody, and the commissioners and committee of parliament residing in Newcastle were ordered to send him up to London as a delinquent. He, however, escaped to Berwick in a small fishing vessel, and died in exile at Antwerp in 1652.

The Scots having got possession of Tynemouth and other castles, the parliament was anxious to get rid of them and that they should return to Scotland, but the suggestion did not meet with their approval. On the 12th July, 1645, commissioners were appointed by parliament to proceed to Scotland to treat and conclude divers

matters concerning the safety and peace of both kingdoms. Among the matters to be dealt with was the immediate withdrawal of the Scottish troops from Tynemouth, Newcastle, and other castles where garrisons had been placed without the consent of both houses of parliament. On the 5th September, 1645, the commissioners met the commissioners for Scotland at Berwick, and on the 13th of November following, the speakers of both Houses of Parliament reported the answers which had been received, which were not satisfactory, and a further demand was made for the removal of the garrisons before the 1st of March following. Algernon, earl of Northumberland, had cast in his lot with the parliamentary party. In the year 1645 he wrote several letters about the Scots, and in one of these to sir Harry Vane he says:—‘Certainly the Scots detaining our Towns and Castles and continuing their Garrisons in them against our wills gives very just cause of jealousy to us and truly I believe will hardly be endured whatever the consequences prove.’ He speaks of the Scots as ‘Our Brethren.’ The Scots continued to occupy the castle, and made a claim of two millions sterling for their services, less the sums they had received in money or in kind during their stay in England. A dispute arose about the money to be paid, which was finally settled by parliament agreeing to pay to the Scottish commissioners £400,000, of which it was stipulated that £200,000 should be paid before the Scots left Newcastle. The £200,000 having been paid the Scottish army departed from Newcastle with their treasure in thirty-six covered waggons. The earl of Leven, lord general of the army, issued a proclamation commanding that the troops should not plunder on their way home. Before leaving Newcastle they gave up possession of Tynemouth castle, and handed over their king to the committee appointed by parliament to receive his person. It is said to be an error to suppose that the payment of the £400,000 had anything to do with the surrender of the king, but the payment of half of the amount and the surrender were concurrent acts. As they went north with their ‘siller’ the king was conveyed south by the troops of the parliament.

On the 11th of December, 1646, major-general Skippon was approved of by parliament as governor of Tynemouth castle. In 1648, sir Arthur Heselrige was governor of the castle. In April in

that year there was an order of the commons for £5,000 to be forthwith raised to be employed for repairing and fortifying the town of Newcastle and Tynemouth castle.

I read a paper to the society on the 29th of July, 1891, on 'Tynemouth Castle: the eve of the Commonwealth,'³ and gave an account of the revolt of lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, deputy-governor of the castle, and the recovery of the castle in the month of August, 1648. Since I read the paper additional volumes of the *Calendars of State Papers* have been issued, and among them a volume covering the period from 1648 to 1649. It contains the proceedings of the committee of both Houses of Parliament at Derby house, the old town house of the earls of Derby. On the 14th of August, 1648, the committee sat and ordered that a letter of thanks should be written to sir Arthur Heselrige for his care and diligence in recovering the revolted castle of Tynemouth. The letter is given in detail, and as it is so quaint I append it.

By yours of the 10th inst: we are informed of the traitorous revolt of Lieut: Col: Lilburn and of his just punishment. We have great cause to bless God for his goodness to us in so happy a recovery of a place of so very great consequence, which, if it had continued in their hands, would have given a great turn to the Parliament's Affairs in those parts. But it pleased God only so far to permit it to proceed that it might be a discovery of an unsuspected Traitor and a demonstration of His watchful providence in the conduct of his own cause, the approbation of which by the evident appearances of His own hand in the punishment of the traitors, the recovery of the place and preservation of our Men. He writes in characters so visible as he that runs may read them, to whom we desire to return praise as the Author of all. And also give you as an *instrument* our hearty thanks for your prudent, resolute, present and effectual care for regaining of it, as we do also to those Officers and Soldiers who in obedience to and in pursuance of your commands, did with so much alacrity and readiness undertake and with such resolution, courage and success, carry on a work of such great concernment to the public and so great difficulty and danger to the undertakers, which our thanks we desire you to make known to them all, in which service if any delay had been made the place had been in all probability irrecoverably lost, and the state of affairs most dangerously altered and hazarded thereby. We are confident after this experience we need say nothing to desire you to have a most especial care of a place of so very great importance.

From this letter it is clear that the parliament, although they recognized the Divine interposition in their favour, attached very

³ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xv. p. 218.

great importance to the *instrument*, mentioned in the letter, for the recapture and future keeping of the castle. It was on the 10th of August and not on the 11th, as generally stated, that the castle was retaken. The letter from sir Arthur Heselrige to the committee of the lords and commons, which formed the subject of my paper, is not in the *Calendars of State Papers*.

The castle remained in possession of the parliament and the commonwealth until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. For several years captain John Topping was governor of the castle, and in the *Calendars of State Papers* there are several letters from him to secretary Thurloe, commencing in the year 1654. In one letter he says :—

We have 11 Contrary (country) Gentlemen prisoners who are suspected persons and I expect more to be sent in this day. We have two Companies in this Garrison consisting of 70 Men in a Company. Yesterday I sent thirty men commanded by Captain Simpson to secure the Castle until 130 Men who are on their march from Barwicke come to secure the towne alsoe. We were on the third nights duty before I sent the party away; and indeed this place is as cold, standing in the sea as any place I ever came to which causes our Soldiers to fall sicke and will weaken us much if the Centinells go on every third hour. I hope our God will owne his people still for our enemyes witts are good; but they want hearts to act their diabollicall designs. Soe doubtless the Mercies of our God endure for ever.

In another letter he gives an account of his interview with Mr. Robert Marley, son of sir John Marley (the gallant defender of Newcastle against the Scots), and of his attempts to extract information from him. He had come from Antwerp, where he had left his father, who was with the earl of Newcastle. The son is thus described :—

The young man is upwards of 19 years of age speakes good French and hath kist Charles Steward's hand. He hath been educated near two yeares in Antwerpe. I caused him to be sucked but could find noe letters only an ould piece of paper with some verses writ and in four places begun the verse with God damne me. In his Portmantle was French and Lattin bookes and in English Wallers poems and the pretenders booke of the late Kings to his Sonn with six of Newcastle's lady's pictures.

In another letter he says :—

I bless God we are all contented and I heare no unquietnesse, but want of pay hath begott mutinyes and I feare the worst.

I took bond of a Lynn Merchant for drinking the health of Van Tromp and De Witt and abusing a custom House Officer at Newcastle.

In 1655, the lord protector fixed the establishment charges at Tynemouth castle at £199 5s. 4d. per month. The castle was to have a complete establishment of fifty 'Centinels.' In September in that year an order was issued for the removal of arms from Raby castle to Tynemouth castle. Colonel Robert Lilburn⁴ appears to have been in charge of the castle in December, 1655. In August, 1659, captain Topping was ordered to send to the council of state a list of his prisoners in the castle, and what he had to say concerning each; and in the same month a warrant was issued to the farmers of the excise of beer, ale, and cider for the counties of Kent and Sussex for the payment of the troops in Tynemouth castle, late under lord Howard, but then under the command of captain Topping, of their arrears, amounting to £253 8s.

During the occupation of the castle by the Scots and during the commonwealth, the parishioners were deprived of the use of their parish church, which stood within the walls of the castle, and had been used for four hundred and fifty years. In 1658, the parishioners petitioned the justices of the peace for the county of Northumberland and the grand jury at the sessions at Morpeth for a new church. In the order of sessions it is stated the church was made use of for the garrison of the castle, so that some thousands of people were left destitute of the word and means of salvation, to the great dishonour of God and encouragement of many loose and ignorant people in profaning of the Sabbath and living in a lewd life and conversation. An assessment of two shillings in the pound was ordered to be levied throughout the county for building a church or place of public meeting. In 1659, general Lambert arrived in Newcastle with a large force of men. The soldiers in Tynemouth castle were marched into a chapel to sign an engagement to support Lambert and his party against the revived 'Rump' parliament, when the roof fell in and killed five or six of them. The commonwealth was rapidly drawing to a close. In January, 1659, there is a record among the municipal accounts of Newcastle of 'Paid John Hall which he disbursed for horse hire and a guide when he caryed a letter from Generall Muncke to the Governor of Tynemouth Castle 6s.'

⁴ He was one of the regicides, and signed the warrant for the execution of king Charles the first.

In 1660, sir Arthur Heselrige surrendered the castle at Tynemouth, along with other castles of which he was governor, on condition of having his life and estate preserved. He was, however, excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and was committed to the Tower, where he died on the 8th of January, 1661/2. In January, 1661, there was a grant of the office of captain and commander-in-chief of Tynemouth castle to the earl of Northumberland and lord Percy, his son, fee one hundred marks a year. In the same year, Edward Villiers was governor of the castle. I have in my possession a receipt, signed by him, which was given to me by Mr. J. C. Brooks, one of our vice-presidents. It reads thus :—

xv^{to} die Martij 1661.

Received by mee Edward Villiers Esq^r. Governo^r of his Ma^{ty}. Garrison of Tynmouth of S^r Job Harby Baronett S^r John Wolstenholme K^t, and others Commisfion^{rs} of his Mat^s Customes & Subsidies through out England &c the sume of One Thousand ffive hundred sixtye eight pounds vpon the sume of cclxjⁱⁱ vj^s viij^d per menf for the pay of two Companies with their officers appointed for the said Garrison And is due for sixe Moneths beginning the feaventh of September 1661 and ending the xxjth day of ffebruary next followeing By feuerall Lres Patents dated xv^{to} Januar' 1660 and xxiiij^{to} Maij 1661. I say received.

Edward Villiers.

m^ovlxviij^h.

In the collection of the 'Sufferings of the People called Quakers,' published in 1753, is an account, under the date 10th August, 1661, of George Linton and twenty-six other members of the society having been taken at a meeting at South Shields by major Graham, deputy-governor of Tinmouth castle, and cast into nasty holes there, where they lay a full month, and then he turned them out, having, so far as appeared to them, neither order, authority, nor warrant for any part of his proceeding. The George Linton referred to in the extract died in January, 1663/4, and by the 'fury of the tymes was by relations and Souldiers caryed away from Friends and buried in the down end of Tinemouth Kirke' (*vide* register book belonging to the Society of Friends). He is the only person mentioned in the Tynemouth registers as having died excommunicate.

Among the State Papers in 1662 is a letter from lord Fauconberg to secretary Nicholas. 'Heard much of the Meetings and night ridings of disaffected persons. Has taken bond of Bellwood and ordered Sir John Marley to have an eye on Tynemouth for the

Deputy Governor there keeps the old Chaplain and many of the Soldiers.' In the following year there was a grant to Villiers of £200 for the repairs of the castle, and in April, 1664, a warrant to pay £173 13s. 4d. for furnishing the garrison with flock beds, etc.

In 1664, the English and the Dutch were at war, and among the state papers is a letter from Wm. Leving to secretary Bennet, in which he says:—

They talk of the Dutch bringing over the English and landing them at Hull therefore Hull and Tynemouth should be cared for. Col. Villiers, trusts Love of Tynemouth, a Lieutenant who has been tampered with and will betray the place for gain. Sir Ralph Delavale was spoken of as encouraging the late businefs. They act cunningly and encourage private men who will not betray them to break the ice.

On the 28th June, 1665, the town council of Newcastle voted £200 towards the repair of the works of Tynemouth castle, in consequence of a letter received from king Charles the second informing them that colonel Edward Villiers, governor of the castle, had been directed to repair it on account of the Dutch war, and to protect the trade and port of the Tyne.

In June, 1666, some Dutch prisoners on board of the ship 'Ipswich' lying at Shields plotted with prisoners on board of other ships in the harbour to kill the master, secure the rest in their cabins, and carry away the ship, but were discovered by a Scot of their own party, and were all lodged in Tynemouth castle. The country was in a great state of alarm. In the same month, secretary Morice wrote to the governors of Tynemouth and other castles, and stated that being apprehensive of danger from sudden invasion the king wished them to use all industry to have their works repaired, fortified, and victualled for two months, and to fill up with the allotted number of soldiers. In the following month we have an account of an engagement near Tynemouth. One hundred and fifty landmen were marched from Berwick to Tynemouth, and shipped in the 'Pembroke.' She set sail, and engaged a new Dutch man-of-war, well fitted out, of twenty-two guns, and fought until eight o'clock at night, and then the landmen boarded and took her. The enemy had twenty killed and sixteen prisoners. The 'Pembroke' had five killed and sixteen wounded. In the months of June and July, 1667, the whole of Tyneside was in a state of great alarm about the attack of the Dutch

fleet at Sheerness, and their sailing up the Medway. The *Calendars of State Papers* contain letters from Newcastle and Tynemouth. In one of the letters it is said :—

All are sad at the attack of the Dutch at Sheerness and people are distracted and at their wit's end with the sad news. The Magistrates (of Newcastle) are very careful, they have prevailed with Col. Villiers for 600 Arms and will call the Shipmasters together to know what arms and ammunition they have. Sir Ralph Delaval and Col. Villiers consulted with the Shipmasters at Shields about securing their Ships. Four Companies of Guards were marched from Berwick to Tynemouth Castle. The Lords Ogle and Carlisle were at Tynemouth and ships were ready to be sunk if needful. The presence of these Noblemen inspired the people with great confidence. Lord Ogle remained in Newcastle and Lord Carlisle at Tynemouth where he was careful and vigilant and had so well ordered his business that no attempt by water need be feared.

In March, 1667, there was a grant from the privy seal to colonel Villiers of £200 for the repairs of the castle and adding such fortifications as might better secure the mouth of the Tyne.

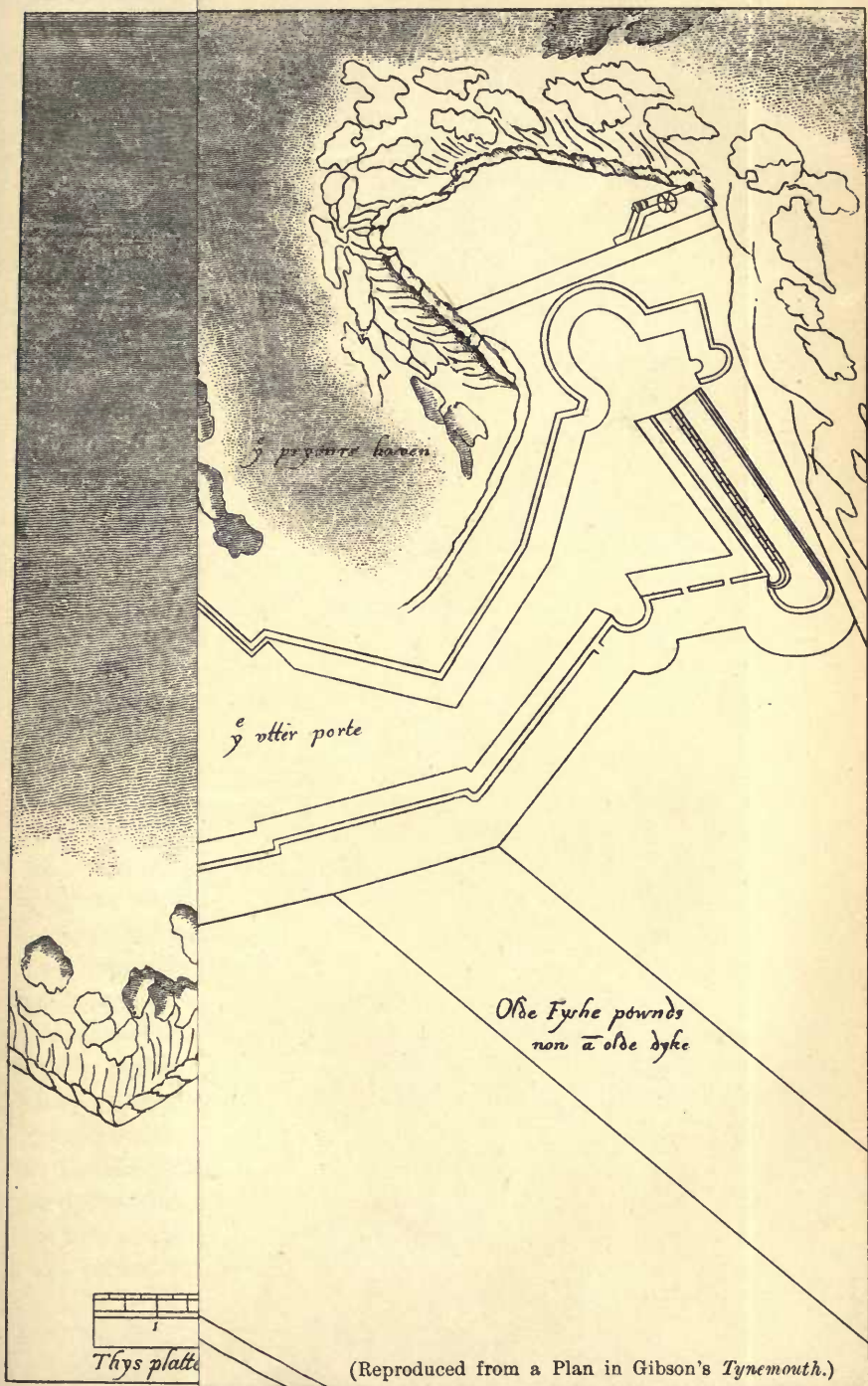
Ralph Thoresby, the historian of Leeds, visited Tynemouth castle on 8th September, 1681. He says :—

Went with E. H. (Eleazar Hodshon) to Shields by Water but it proved a most terrible stormy day. Visited Tinmouth Castle now almost ruined and maintained by a slender Garrison.

In the memoirs of Ambrose Barnes,⁵ merchant and alderman of Newcastle from 1627-1710, is an entry about the castle. In 1686, when the government was alarmed by the rumour of a great armament in Holland, colonel Widdrington in a great huff came to Mr. Barnes requiring him to order some guns down to Tinmouth castle. 'That is not my business,' said Mr. Barnes, 'the King never made me Governour of that Castle.' He was conveyed to the castle, and charged upon suspicion with a design against the government. Colonel Edward Villiers was knighted in 1680, and died in July, 1689, and was buried in Westminster abbey. He was succeeded by his second son, colonel Henry Villiers, as governor of the castle. In 1691, the establishment of the castle was rated at £474 10s. per annum. In August, 1707, colonel Villiers died and was buried within the castle.

It was during the time the Villiers were governors of the castle that many of the old monastic buildings were pulled down, and irreparable damage was done to the priory church. Grose, in his *Antiquities of England and Wales* published in 1774, says :—

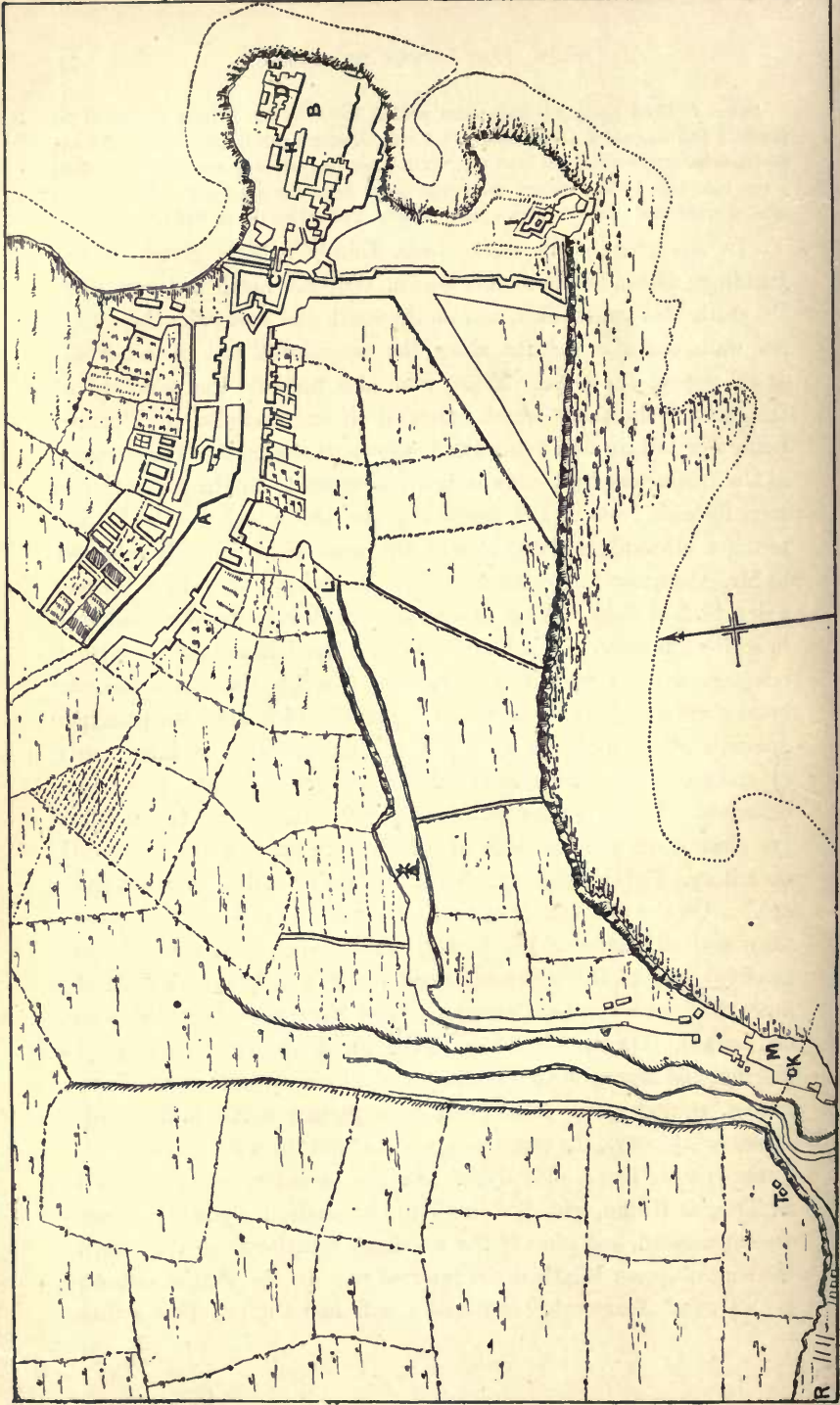
⁵ 50, Surtcees Society publications.



Much of these buildings have been pulled down by Mr. Villars (Villiers) for erecting the Barracks, Light House, his own House near it and other edifices; he likewise stripped off the lead which till then had covered the Church. This I was informed by an ancient man who lived near the spot, and who likewise said, a great deal, particularly a long gallery, had fallen down itself.

In the plan of the castle, *temp.* Elizabeth, here given, all the buildings within the walls are shown. On the north and east sides the castle was inaccessible, and on the south and west sides there were two walls, one of which ran along the escarpment, and the other was at the top of the slope. There were also walls to the westward of the gates of the castle which extended to and included the Spanish battery or fort, in which one gun is shown as mounted. The entrance to the castle was by a drawbridge, not opposite to the gateway but some distance from it, and nearly opposite to the old road which lay to the southward of the garden of the house which recently belonged to Mr. Alexander S. Stevenson. This drawbridge must have crossed a dry ditch or fosse. After passing the drawbridge was the gatehouse in which the porter resided, and then the ward house for the armed retainers of the monastery. Passing through the gatehouse the great court was entered, on the south side of which stood the principal domestic offices of the monastery within an enclosure or inner court (*y^e ender court*). To the eastward of these were the parish and priory churches. To the southward of the parish church were the cloisters (*ye closter*), on the east side of which were the chapter house and dormitory. To the southward the lord's lodging and the new hall (*new aule*). On the west side of the cloisters was the common hall (*como aue*), and adjoining it the buttery and kitchen (*boterye aule and ketchyn*), and to the westward stood the new lodging. Within the inner court were the brewhouse, mill, and bakehouse (*bruhouse, mine, and barkh*). On the north side of the parish church was the prior's lodging, and among other buildings and places were the corn house, stables, poultry yard, kiln, great barn garner, north walk, garden place, south court, the outer port, and beyond the walls was the 'olde Fyshe pownde now a olde dyke.' In the inventory of the goods of sir Thomas Hilton, who died in 1559, his goods at Tynemouth castle are enumerated, and some of the buildings mentioned in the plan in the time of queen Elizabeth are referred to. In the British Museum is 'a plan of Tinmouth Town and Castle and Clifford Fort scituate

'A PLAN OF TINMOUTH TOWN AND CASTLE, AND CLIFFORD FORT, SCITUATE AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE RIVER TYNE.'



A Tinmouth town. **B** Tinmouth castle, the works defensive being gone to ruin. **C** The Main Gate. **D** Mr. Villiers's house. **E** Tinmouth Light House, belonging to Mr. Villiers. **F** The house formerly belonging to the Governor, gone to ruin. **G** Storehouse belonging to the Ordnance, much out of repairing. **H** The road from Tinmouth to Cliffort. **I** The road from Tinmouth to Newcastle. **J** The road from Tinmouth to Newcastle. **K** The road from Tinmouth to Newcastle. **L** The road from Tinmouth to Newcastle. **M** The road from Tinmouth to Newcastle. **N** Formerly a redoubt, now a

at the entrance of the River Tyne.' In the explanation to the plan the house of Mr. Villiers, the governor, is shown. As the Villiers were governors of the castle from 1661 to 1707, and Clifford's fort, built in 1672, is shown upon the plan, it is probable it was prepared towards the close of the seventeenth century. The house built by Mr. Villiers is still standing, and is known as the 'governor's house.' Upon the ground floor, at the right hand side of the doorway, are two interesting panelled rooms. The stairs and balustrade are old, and are objects of interest. The plan in the British Museum I have had photographed. I believe it has not been published. The castle at the time was in a ruinous state. The works defensive were in ruins. The house which had formerly belonged to the governor had gone to ruins. The storehouse belonging to the ordnance was much out of repair. The lighthouse built by sir Edward Villiers is shown. The Spanish fort had gone to ruin. Clifford's fort is shown with a section of it. By a very singular arrangement the barracks in Clifford's fort, inhabited by a company of invalids, are in the upper part of it, and immediately below them is the powder magazine. The abbey is described as demolished. Happily the abbey, or more correctly the priory, has not reached the final state described in the plan. It still stands beautiful in its ruin, and is one of our most conspicuous and cherished landmarks.

On the 1st of May, 1717, John Campian, a soldier, who was shot for desertion, was buried within the castle. Beyond the simple entry in the church registers we know nothing of him.

In the same year the establishment at the castle was rated at £573 15s. per annum, made up thus:—

The Governor	...	...	£0 16 5½	per diem;	£301 0 0	per ann.
Lieut.-Governor	...	...	0 10 0	"	182 10 0	"
One Master Gunner	...	...	0 2 0	"	36 10 0	"
3 other Gunners, each 12d.	...	...	0 3 0	"	54 15 0	"
			£1 11 5½	"	£574 15 0	"

The regulation allowance for fire and candles was £18 a year.

In 1745, there were French prisoners in the castle, and in the following year Dutch and Swiss soldiers were quartered in it, some of whom died and were buried within its walls. In 1747, on two occasions, French prisoners escaped from the castle. In 1759, the

Trinity house of Newcastle subscribed two guineas towards the relief of the French prisoners in it.

In Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales* the picturesque gateway of the castle is shown. (See frontispiece.) In 1296, king Edward the first granted a licence to crenellate it. Grose says :—

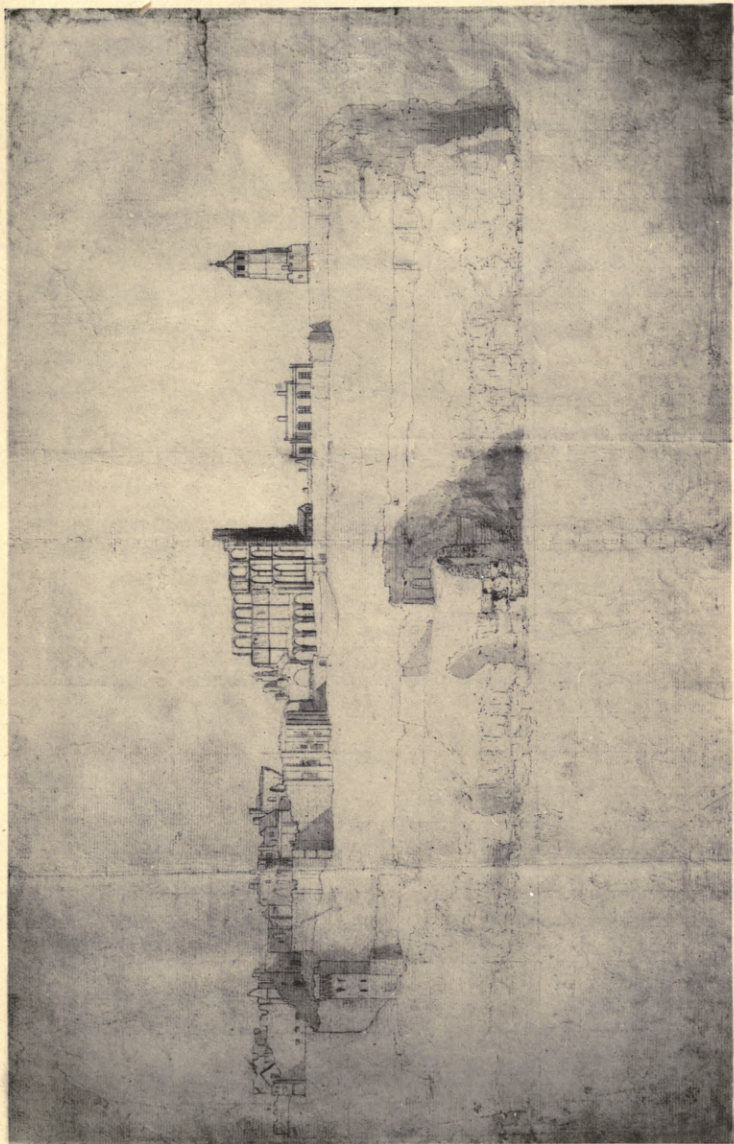
There is still standing here a strong square Gateway having small turrets like guerites at each angle. It was formerly fenced by a ditch over which there was a drawbridge; but these have long been demolished.

This gateway was the most important defensive work within the castle. There was no keep.

There was an outer and an inner gateway, the outward gateway having two gates at the distance of about six feet from each other, the inner of them being defended by a portcullis and an open gallery. The interior gateway was in like manner strengthened by a double gate. The space between the gateways being a square of about six spaces was open above to allow those on top of the battlements to annoy assailants who had gained the first gate. The gateway shown in Grose represents the inside of it. There is a drawing in the Richardson collection in the library of the society showing the outer part of the gateway in 1780.⁶ Both of these drawings show the turrets at each angle, but in neither of them is shown the circular tower which surmounts the present structure. I have recently examined it, and although the newel staircase has an old look about it, I am of opinion it is not older than the work executed in 1783. In a drawing in my possession by Ralph Waters, which I believe has never been engraved, the machicolated barbican is shown in the position where the drawbridge was.⁷ At some distance from the barbican and nearer to the haven are shown some outworks with a flight of steps leading into the haven. In 1783, the government resumed possession of the castle, and the old and interesting features of the gateway were completely obliterated, and the hideous superstructure, as we now know it, was built, and the old stonework covered with plaster. In a picture of Newcastle published in 1807, the duke of Richmond, who was master of the ordnance, is charged with having entirely destroyed the entrance which had been for ages the chief ornament of the castle, and that he had rebuilt it in a contemptible style of architecture, over which barracks were fitted up

⁶ See plate facing p. 62.

⁷ See plate opposite.



View of Tynemouth from the South in 1786.

From an original drawing by Ralph Waters, in the possession of Mr. H. A. Adamson.

for the soldiers. The work was planned and executed under the superintendence of Mr. Leonard Smelt, engineer *extraordinary*. Of the monastic domestic buildings very few remain. The vaulted 'Boterye Aule (hall) and Kitchen' were converted into and are still used as a powder magazine. The building has a vaulted roof and is of two bays.

The fate of Tynemouth castle is the common one which befalls our historic buildings when they come into possession of the government. The effacement of the old features and a senseless pulling down of all that is historic, and the erection of buildings of the most unsightly shape and of material little in harmony with the buildings around them is the usual feature of government work.

In the year 1828 the War Office furnished a list of the governors of Tynemouth castle and Clifford's fort, which comprised the following:—

	Date of Appointment.			
Sir Edward Villiers ^a	Unknown.
Col. Henry Villiers	2 nd February, 1702.
Thomas Meredith	20 th February, 1707.
Alg ⁿ , Earl of Hertford	11 th January, 1714/15.
Alg ⁿ , Earl of Hertford	20 th June, 1727.
Sir Andrew Agnew, B ^t	13 th February, 1749/50.
Hon. Alexander Mackay	8 th August, 1771.
Lord Adam Gordon	4 th April, 1778.
Charles Rainsford	2 nd Nov ^r ., 1796.
General David Douglas Wemyss	27 th May, 1809.
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.				
Henry Villiers	7 th May, 1713.
John Middleton	28 th January, 1714/5.
Edward Hall, Capt. Commandant in the absence of the Governor and Lt.-Gov ^r	27 th September, 1715.
John Lewis de le Bene	17 th July, 1717.
Henry Villiers	20 th June, 1727.
Thomas Lacey	11 th June, 1753.
Spencer Cowper	19 th October, 1763.
Hon. Alexander Hope	16 th March, 1797.
Charles Crawford	9 th January, 1799.
Lieut.-General James Hay	2 nd April, 1821.
Do. William Thomas	6 th Sept., 1826.

In the *Annals of the Northern Counties*, published in 1839, it is stated that the governorship of Tynemouth and Clifford's fort had become vacant by the death of general Wemyss, and the government had

^a His appointment was in 1661 as shown by the receipt signed by him.

determined not to fill up the sinecure appointment. The governor had a salary of £284 7s. 11d., and the salary of the lieutenant-governor was £173 7s. 6d. General Wemyss, while he was governor, made a claim of 10s. for permitting the burial ground within the castle to be broken for each interment, which was resisted by the parishioners. A voluminous correspondence was carried on between the years 1826 and 1833. In one of the letters from the irascible governor he says:—

I have only to lament that your Vestry had not more able Counsellors than those who advised a contention with the authority I have the honor to be invested by King in Council. I can let them know should I see cause—prevent both the living and the dead from entering these walls. I want neither their money nor their dead.

The exaction was withdrawn, and a few years afterwards the old governor passed to his rest.

General Thomas was an old veteran who had served throughout the long continental war, as well as in America and Ireland.

The Spanish battery which, as I have stated, was within the line of fortifications of the castle, has entirely disappeared. The unsuccessful attempt forty years ago of the contractor of the Tyne Commissioners to find stone for the piers destroyed the old wall and outworks along the escarpment, and partly, but not entirely, isolated the castle. A few years ago the houses of the lighthouse keepers which, with their trimly kept gardens, were the admiration of visitors, were pulled down and destroyed, and the lighthouse is threatened with destruction.⁹ It is intended to pull down the governor's house and the buildings which surround it, and a grant has been made for the purpose.

At present, brick buildings, out of keeping with all their surroundings, are rapidly rearing their heads within the castle, and when finished may not be required.

For much of the information in this paper I am indebted to the *Annals of the House of Percy*, the invaluable volumes by Mr. Welford on *Newcastle and Gateshead* and on *Men of Mark*, and the *Calendars of State Papers*, and I am also under an obligation to major Porterfield, R.A., for his uniform courtesy in allowing me to see over the buildings in the castle.

⁹ The lighthouse was purchased of the descendants of the Villiers family in 1840 for £124,678 17s. 2d. by the Trinity House, London.

VI.—THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WALL.

BY THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A., one of the
Secretaries of the Society.

[Read on the 28th August, 1895.]

THE object of the following paper is to collect into one brief summary the notices furnished to us by the writers of antiquity as to that most interesting monument of the Roman dominion in Britain, the Wall between the estuary of the Tyne and the Solway.

Discussions at great length have been waged, and probably will continue to be waged, concerning the real builders of this extraordinary work. The evidence of inscriptions along the line of the Wall has been appealed to, and rightly appealed to, for in my judgment what I have termed the literary history of the Wall will never by itself enable us to decide these questions. Still it seems to me that there may be an advantage in looking at that literary history separately, and estimating the information contained by it, whether much or little, by itself, as if not a single stone with the name of a Roman general or emperor upon it had ever been discovered. Especially I wish to measure the distance of time by which each of the authorities whom I have to quote is separated from the events which he records. For if there be one quality more than another by which history in the hands of recent enquirers has gained in accuracy, and has made some approach to scientific exactness, it has been by the resolute determination to sift as well as to collect historical evidence. There was a time when any statement of a historical kind which appeared in print, especially if it were clothed in the majesty of 'a learned language,' was deemed worthy of attention; when it was thought that at any rate the frequent repetition of such statements, though it might be clear that they were all only copied from one, perhaps untrustworthy source, proved something. Now, under the guidance of such scientific historians as Niebuhr, Grote, Freeman, Mommsen, and others, we have learned that witnesses must be weighed not simply counted, and that one contemporary witness, if a man of a cautious habit of mind, not

under any strong bias of personal interest, and careful in distinguishing between observed facts, outweighs any number of mere romancers who are separated by generations from the events about which they profess to inform us.

I will, therefore, very briefly recount the well-known facts of the Roman occupation of Britain in order to show at what points in that long career (reaching, it must always be remembered, over nearly four centuries) the lives of the chroniclers of that occupation have to be inserted.

The conquest of Britain by the generals of the emperor Claudius took place, as we all know, in the year 43 after the birth of Christ. At least this was the year in which the process of subjugation commenced. It proceeded rapidly over the southern part of the island; steadily, but with one or two signal reverses, over the midland and northern portions, and in about fifty years it had reached the limit which it never afterwards overpassed. Of this conquest we ought to have a complete and almost contemporaneous narrative, for Tacitus, the great historian of the early empire, was born about seventeen years after A.D. 43; he doubtless conversed with many of the officers who took part in the first expedition, and his father-in-law, Agricola, was the general under whom the Roman arms were carried northward into the recesses of Caledonia. Unfortunately, however, the great gaps which have been made by time and human carelessness in the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus prevent us from reading his account either of the beginning of the conquest or of some of its more important after-scenes; but this loss is to some small extent compensated by the rapid sketch of the Romanisation of Britain painted for us in the life of Agricola, which was the earliest of his historical works, and was probably written about A.D. 98, only fourteen years after the close of Agricola's campaigns.

It is generally agreed that with all the magnificent gifts which Tacitus possesses he is not a good military historian. Either he did not know or he could not describe clearly the nature of the country through which his father-in-law marched: maps, of course, in these days were meagre and inaccurate; and the result is that it is extremely difficult to make out from his work a clear and consistent narrative of the five campaigns in which Agricola subdued the region which

was called in a later day Northumbria, and even penetrated, apparently, into the Scottish highlands. But these are the sentences which probably describe his operations in this part of the country.

‘When summer arrived (the summer of 79) he drew his army together, he was constantly on the march, he praised the subordination of his troops, he chastised the stragglers: he himself chose the places for the camps, himself reconnoitred the estuaries and the forests: and, meanwhile, he gave the foe no rest but perpetually ravaged their territory with sudden excursions. Then, when he had struck sufficient terror into their hearts, he again by his clemency gave them a longing for peace. As a consequence of these measures, many cities [states] which up to that time had held aloof now gave him hostages and laid aside their thoughts of revenge. These were surrounded with garrisons and forts and were administered with more care and statesmanship than any of the previously conquered parts of Britain.’

Of the next year we read: ‘The third campaign opened up new country, the native races being all harried as far as the estuary of the Tanaus. Frightened by these alarms the enemy did not venture to harass the Roman army, though buffeted by sore tempests, and thus leisure was obtained for building further forts (*castella*). Good judges deemed that no general had ever chosen the ground for these with more wisdom. No fort founded by Agricola was ever stormed by the enemy in force or abandoned by flight or surrender, Frequent sallies were made from them, for they were safeguarded against a lingering blockade by yearly reinforcement of their supplies.’ This passage would be of immense value for the history of the conquest of North Britain if only we could say with certainty where ‘the estuary of Tanaus’ is to be placed. Unfortunately, most of the chief estuaries along the east coast have names beginning with T: Tay, Scottish Tyne, Tweed, our Tyne, Tees: and every one of them has some champions who defend its claim to be the original Tanaus.

As we find that in the next year ‘Clota and Bodotria (the firths of Clyde and Forth), which are driven far inland by the tides of two different seas and are therefore separated by a narrow interval of land, were then strengthened by garrisons’ (‘quod tunc praesidiis firmabatur’), we seem to be entitled to conjecture, though we cannot

prove, that the similar narrow neck of land which intervenes between Tyne and Solway was also 'strengthened by garrisons,' and that Agricola's watchful care in selecting suitable places for camps was exercised in choosing some of those sites in the Northumbrian hills which are still encompassed by Roman masonry.

But this only takes us at furthest to the construction of *camps*. We have still no hint of anything like *a wall*.

The second century after Christ was, we are sure, of immense importance in the actual building of the Wall ; but, strangely enough, it adds nothing to what I call its literary history. Let me briefly run over the names and characters of the chief emperors who wore the purple during this, the golden age of the Roman monarchy. There are some of them to whom we shall have to return when we reach the writers who tell us of their deeds.

I will not linger over the reign of TRAJAN (98-117), 'Best of Princes' (as he was deservedly named by his grateful subjects), for we have, I think, no direct evidence of Trajan's action in reference to the government of Britain. I pass on, therefore, to his successor, AELIUS HADRIANUS, who reigned from 117 to 138. He undoubtedly visited our island, and probably held his court at Eboracum (York), in the winter of 119-120. Though not the best of the emperors, Hadrian is certainly one of the most interesting of the series. He was a restless traveller, for seventeen years perpetually on the move from one end to another of his vast dominions. Britain, as we have seen, saw in him almost for the first time the purple of an emperor,¹ and he left his name in the military station of Pons Aelii which guarded his bridge over the Tyne at the spot where we now listen to the clamorous industries of Newcastle. Britain settled, Hadrian journeyed through Gaul to Spain, from Spain to Mauritania, and thence to the borders of Persia. All the great capitals of the ancient world—Athens, Alexandria, Antioch—felt the presence of this ubiquitous emperor, and wherever he went stately buildings sprang up to attest his passionate love for the noble art of architecture. Though himself a Spaniard, his heart was given to Greece. He lingered long in Athens and adorned her

¹ Claudius was the only emperor who had previously visited Britain, and his visit lasted only eleven days.

with so many beautiful buildings that a triumphal arch bore on that face which looked towards them: 'This is not the city of Theseus but the city of Hadrian.'² Returning at length to Italy to spend his old age there, he reared, in sight of the temples and cascades of Tivoli, that marvellous palace whose ruins still bear his name 'The Villa of Hadrian.' The traveller who visits the place, deceived by the modest title, expects to find one building of moderate dimensions, and finds instead the lines of a real city, barracks for many thousand soldiers, temples, baths, lecture halls, and libraries. And here the Hellas-loving emperor 'endeavoured to perpetuate his own recollections of Greece. Here he erected buildings to which he gave the names of Poikilé and lyceum; by their side he planted the germ of an Academy, and he carried the stream of an ideal Peneus through the pleasant vale of an imitation Tempe.'³

Pity that this brilliant and vivid intellect was not united to a stronger and a purer character. Hadrian suffers by comparison with the emperors who came before and after him, for though far from sinking to the level of the cruel debauchees who disgraced the first century of the empire, he does not rise to the level of that serene and self-denying virtue which was generally attained by the Ulpian and Antonine emperors. With the brilliancy he had also the sensuousness and the moral weakness of the artistic temperament. He was pre-eminently the kind of man who needed religion rather than philosophy to enable him to work out his life-problem aright. For want of the soothing, regulating influence of the Divine Spirit on his soul he sank, in his old age and under the torments of a painful disease, into an irritable and jealous tyrant: his early, well-deserved popularity faded away, and he seems to have died hated more than pitied by his people.

But if there were blots in the record of Hadrian's closing years, they were almost effaced by the splendid wisdom which he showed in the choice of his successor. ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161), whose very coins bring before us the image of a man of pure and noble character, was fittingly described in the address in which Hadrian introduced

² ΑΙΑ' ΕΙΣ' ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ. On the other side of the arch looking towards the old city were the words: ΑΙΑ' ΕΙΣ' ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΕΩΣ Η ΙΠΠΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

³ Preface to Wordsworth's *Greece*.

him to the senate 'of noble birth, gentle, tractable, wise, with neither the rashness of youth nor the slovenliness of age, trained up in the laws, having commanded as a general according to the good old custom of his fathers, so that he knew all the duties of those offices which lead up to sovereignty, and has been able to discharge them all honourably.' We know far too little of the public acts and private life of this true 'patriot-king,' but I will so far anticipate what I shall have to say when I come to speak of his biographer as to say that Antoninus was the undoubted author of the wall, or rather rampart, which connected the firths of Forth and Clyde. As there is so much that is perplexing and debateable about the history of our Wall ('the barrier of the Lower Isthmus,' as it is sometimes called), let this point at least be firmly fixed in our minds, that the builder of the northern, or what we now call the Scottish, rampart was, by the consentient testimony of historians, inscriptions, and coins, Antoninus Pius, emperor of Rome from 138 to 161.

His adopted son and successor, MARCUS AURELIUS (161-180), 'the philosopher on the throne,' the man who in all the heathen world comes nearest, except Socrates (if, indeed, we ought to except Socrates), to the Christian ideal of righteousness, had hard battles to fight with the barbarians of the Middle Danube in defence of the empire, and, as far as I know, his name is not even mentioned in the scanty records of the time in connection with Roman Britain.

All the world had to mourn the awful change when the saintly Aurelius, the friend and father of his people, was succeeded by his son, the cruel and cowardly profligate, COMMODUS (180-192). Britain soon felt the change. *Dion Cassius*, the historian whom I am about shortly to introduce to you, and who is strictly a contemporary (for he was about twenty-five years of age at the time of the accession of Commodus), says (lxxii. 8):—'There were wars in other parts of the empire, but the greatest of all was the war of Britain. For the tribes in that island having overpassed the Wall which separated them from the camps of the Romans, and committing many outrages, and having cut to pieces a certain general with the soldiers under his command, Commodus, struck with fear, sent Marcellus Ulpius against them.' *Dion Cassius* then goes on to give us a characteristic sketch of this general, of the means which he used to maintain the discipline in

the army, and of his own ascetic habits. But neither these details nor the fact that he 'terribly worsted the barbarians' concern us at present. What I want to point out to you is that here at last, in a book written between 211 and 222², we get a clear mention of 'the Wall which divided the barbarians from the camps of the Romans.' It is true that we have no absolutely unmistakable indication which of the walls is here alluded to, but the whole tenor of the passage makes it probable that it was our Wall here in Northumberland, and that the invading barbarians did really effect an entrance over it into the northern counties of that which we now call England, and laid them waste by their ravages.

The same author, Dion Cassius, says, in a later book (lxxvi. 12)—
 'There are two tribes the greatest of all the Britons, namely, the Caledonians and the Maeatae, and all other tribal names have, so to speak, coalesced in these two. Now the Maeatae dwell close to the Wall itself which cuts the island in twain, and the Caledonians behind them. Both tribes inhabit wild and waterless mountains and wastes, marshy plains, having neither walled cities nor agriculture, but living by pasture and the chase, and feeding also on certain hard-shelled fruits. For fish, though they swarm in their rivers, they never taste. They dwell in tents, naked and unshod, having the women in common, and rearing all their offspring. They are for the most part democratically governed, and greatly enjoy robbery. They fight in chariots drawn by little and swift horses, but they are also foot soldiers, most nimble in running, and most resolute in standing together:' and so on. The passage is too long for me to quote the whole of it here; but though interesting as showing us how long democratic government, with all its attendant blessings, has existed among our northern neighbours, it does not help us much as to the position of the Wall; for though the Caledonians we know, the Maeatae as the name of a British tribe conveys no idea to us. Perhaps Mommsen is right⁴ in saying that the wall here means the wall of Antoninus.

The 'reign of terror' under Commodus was ended by his assassination (31st December, 192), and by the elevation to the empire of the estimable senator PERTINAX (193). All readers of Gibbon will remember his admirable description of the short reign of this worthy

⁴ Book viii. c. 5 (p. 187, English translation).

emperor, his murder by the Praetorian guards, the putting up to auction of the imperial dignity, and the chaos of civil war which followed. One of the three pretenders to the purple whose legions clashed together in this anarchic time was Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, but he was not the one who emerged victorious from the doubtful strife. The victor was SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211), who wore the purple for eighteen years, and who left a great name, certainly one of the six greatest names, in the history of Roman Britain.

A man more unlike the courtly and cultivated Hadrian, with whom he is sometimes brought into competition, could hardly be imagined than this stern, dry African soldier, short in stature, snub-nosed, with only a slight tincture of learning, but with a wonderful power of pushing his way through the thickets of political life. During the greater part of his reign he was warring against the Persians on the eastern frontier of the empire, but in 208, though sixty-three years old and tortured by gout, he commanded in person an expedition to Britain in order to chastise the hostile Caledonians and Maeatae.

A somewhat obscure notice in Dion Cassius informs us that there had been trouble in Britain, occasioned by the faithlessness of the Caledonians who, unmindful of their promises [to Rome], had prepared to assist the [hostile] Maeatae. It was the civil war [between Severus and Albinus] which had given them boldness thus to resist the emperor, and the result of their operations was that the governor, Lupus, was obliged to redeem certain captives (probably of high rank) for a very large sum of money. We may safely infer that these operations of the Caledonians must have included at least a partial destruction of the Wall, and a ravage of the lands immediately to the south of it.⁵

The expedition of Severus, undertaken to punish this invasion, lasted three years. He seems to have really penetrated farther into Caledonia than any other Roman general except Agricola. According to Dion Cassius he reached the extreme limit of the island.⁶ This is probably an exaggeration, but the remark that he accurately explored the sun's position at the solstice and the length of the days and nights in summer and winter looks as if he really had gone farther north than the ordinary run of Roman soldiers and merchants. We can well

⁵ Dion Cassius, lxxv. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.* lxxvi. 13.

believe that 'he went through great labours, cutting down forests, levelling heights, filling up marshes, and bridging rivers;' and yet with all this, we are told that fifty thousand Roman soldiers, perished, not in a pitched battle, but victims to the Caledonian ambuscades, to the treacherous morasses, to the fatigues and dangers of the march.⁷

The news of another revolt of the half-subdued Caledonians filled Severus with such rage that, with a Homeric quotation, he vowed to exterminate the whole race down to the infant in its mother's arms; but death cut short the angry soldier's career ere he had begun his fourth campaign. He died at York on the 4th February, 211. He had, though with great sacrifice of Roman life, chastised the presumption of the Caledonians. The presence of so great and strenuous an emperor had doubtless done much to consolidate Roman dominion in the southern part of the island. Had he also left his special mark here in Northumberland? That is a question which for the present shall be left undiscussed.

It may be a little help to the memory, as fixing the place in history of the author whom I mentioned a little while ago, and who is certainly, after Tacitus, our best authority on the history of Roman Britain, to mention that Dion Cassius often pleaded as an advocate before Severus. 'Then at early morning-tide he sat on the judgment seat,' says he, 'except when some great festival was being celebrated. And in truth he did this part of his work very well: for he gave the litigants plenty of water [that is, 'time' by the *clepsydra* or water-clock]; and to me, when I pleaded before him, he gave great liberty of speech. So he judged till noon; after that he rode on horse-back as long as he was able to do so.'⁸

It was by the advice and encouragement of the emperor Severus that Dion determined to write the history of his reign. He apparently began to collect his materials in 201, spent ten years over the work of preparation, and, after the death of Severus, spent ten years more in writing it, completing it, down to the end of that emperor's reign, in the year 222.

It should be mentioned here that one frequently sees statements as to the campaigns of Severus and other points in the history of

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* lxvii. 17

Roman Britain quoted on the authority of a certain *Xiphilinus*. From the pen of this *Xiphilinus* they certainly do literally proceed—all the statements which I have been laying before you ; but if they came originally from the mind of *Xiphilinus* they would be of no conceivable value to us, seeing that he was an ignorant and uncritical Byzantine monk, contemporary with our William the Conqueror. But he undertook, by command of his emperor, to make an abridgement of the history of Dion Cassius from the 36th to the 80th book (from B.C. 67 to A.D. 229).⁹ Though the epitomiser was, as I have said, careless and uncritical, and has doubtless omitted many facts which we would gladly know, there is no reason to suppose that he has added anything to his author, and, therefore, I think we are justified in considering and quoting his book as not the work of *Xiphilinus* but the work of Dion.

It should be mentioned that we have also a history of the reign of Severus from the pen of another contemporary Greek historian, *Herodian*. He is, however, much briefer in his account of the British campaigns than Dion, and I do not find in his text anything which even by inference throws light on the history of the Wall.

As Severus died in the year 211, we are now, you will perceive, fairly launched into the mid-current of the third century after Christ. That century was one of the saddest in all the chronicles of time. The fratricide Caracalla, the effeminate glutton Elagabalus, the fierce barbarian bully Maximin, the dark Arabian traitor Philip, the clever fool Gallienus, were among the third-century emperors, and although some good emperors appeared here and there in the ranks of the wearers of the purple, their lives were generally cut short by the dagger of the assassin or the sword of the mutineer, and they scarcely availed to make even a moment's pause in the empire's downward course to ruin. The third century was growing old, and it seemed as if its death and the death of the great world empire might come almost in the same hour.

The ruin was averted and another century was gained for Rome, for civilization, for the happiness of the human race by the wise states-

⁹ From book 61 to 80, that is from the accession of Nero to the eighth year of Severus Alexander we have only the abridgement of *Xiphilinus* to represent the original work of Dion.

manship of the second founder of the empire, the great DIOCLETIAN (284-305). Himself the son of a man who had once been a Dalmatian slave, he climbed up by no unworthy means, but by the mere force of an indomitable will and a vigorous intellect, to the foremost place in all the world. Once there, he determined that his power should not be at the mercy of every breath of disaffection in the barrack-room of every legion. He chose to himself three strong and capable partners of his throne to aid him in pushing back the barbarians on the frontier, and at the same time in repressing the tumults of the mutinous soldiery. The Roman emperor, he conceived, had been too ready to pose as only the first citizen of a republic. A monarch he was, as much as, nay more than, any king of Persia or Armenia, and as a monarch he must show himself to his dazzled and awe-stricken subjects. Hence came his resolution to place upon his head the white bejewelled diadem¹⁰ to interweave with his purple the threads of gold, to tinge even his shoes with purple and adorn them with blazing jewels, to insist upon his subjects prostrating themselves in the attitude of adoration when they entered his presence, to surround his person with a guard of tall, stately soldiers bearing shields of gold. All the theatrical pageant of royalty now encompassed the Roman emperor, and being well put upon the stage it in great measure accomplished its intended purpose. Though in some things the great designs of Diocletian failed in their aim, the mutinies and rebellions which were almost incessant in the third century were comparatively rare in the fourth.

One of the smaller cares of Diocletian, a sovereign whose various energy somewhat resembled that of the great Napoleon, was to provide a history of the emperors, his predecessors. Suetonius had written their lives down to the reign of Domitian, and Diocletian decided that the work of Suetonius should be continued to his own day. With this view he gave the needful orders to certain rhetoricians, probably clerks and notaries in the government offices, and the book

¹⁰ The diadem, the Oriental sign of monarchy, seems to have been first assumed by Heliogabalus, but not worn outside his palace. Aurelian wore it in public. Diocletian adopted it from these predecessors, perhaps adorned it more sumptuously with jewels, and wore it more habitually. (See *Historia Augusta, Vita Heliogabali*, xxiii.; Victor, *Epitome*, xxxv.; Jordanes, *De Regnorum Successione*, lxviii.; Eutropius, xxvi.)

called the *Historia Augusta* was the result.¹¹ History written in order in this imperial style is not generally distinguished by its literary excellence, and the *Historia Augusta*, though most valuable to us as a record of an obscure and difficult period, is very unworthy of the countrymen of Livy and Tacitus. The authors are so little known, and have so little succeeded in impressing their personality on Roman readers, that there is even a doubt as to their number. Certain lives in the series are attributed to Aelius Spartianus, and certain others to Aelius Lampridius; but it is now suggested by some scholars that these two are one man, Aelius Lampridius Spartianus. This is as if *Vanity Fair* were attributed to one author, William Makepeace, and *The Newcomes* to another, William Thackeray, a sort of mistake which, in such a case where genius has left its ineffaceable signature, is not likely to be made.

It is, however, fortunate that in this curious patch-work performance the best, or perhaps we should rather say the least bad, lives are those which come from the pen of Spartianus, and that among these are the two which concern us most closely, those of the two emperors who left the clearest mark on the provinces of Britain.

From this obscure literary hack, probably a subordinate official in the imperial chancery, from *Aelius Spartianus*, we get the life of Hadrian, with all its faults a precious authority for the reign of that brilliant and much-travelling emperor. In that life this passage occurs: 'Therefore, having like a true king of men changed the habits of the soldiery, he visited Britain, in which island he corrected many things that were amiss, and was the first to draw a wall [across] for eighty miles, in order to divide the barbarians and the Romans.'

¹¹ I must just allude to an interesting literary controversy as to the time of the composition of the *Historia Augusta*. The account given in the text is that which has generally passed current till recent times, and which seems to be borne out by the dedications to Diocletian or Constantine which are found in some MSS. of the *Historia Augusta* prefixed to some of the lives. There are, however, some passages in the compilation which seem to indicate a considerably later date, and strong reasons are assigned by the German scholars who have been discussing the question for suspecting that there is a literary artifice in all the allusions to Diocletian as a contemporary ruler, and that the lives really belong to the age of Theodosius, or even later (say 380 to 410 A.D.). It is not necessary for my purpose to go further into this question here. My chief point is the length of time which elapsed between the reigns of Hadrian or Severus, and the account of those reigns given in the *Historia Augusta*. If it was really written a century after its alleged date this argument becomes so much the stronger.

And again, in a passage where he is speaking more generally of Hadrian's imperial energy : 'At that time and frequently at many other times and in very many places, in which the barbarians are divided (from the Romans) not by rivers but by [artificial] boundaries, he separated them from the empire by great stakes fixed deep in the earth and connected with one another, after the fashion of a mural hedge.'

Here at length, in the first of these passages, at least one hundred and fifty years after the death of Hadrian (for Spartianus certainly did not write before 288), we have a passage clearly assigning to Hadrian the building of a wall, eighty miles in length, across the north of Britain, and connecting it with a general plan of defence all round the borders of the empire where natural frontiers failed. Truly, notwithstanding its late appearance, this is a most precious document for the history of our Wall.

The next imperial life in the *Historia Augusta* is that of Antoninus Pius, and bears the name of *Julius Capitolinus*, another member of the literary partnership ; but the opinion of some scholars inclines to the view that this life also is the work of Spartianus. In that life occurs this passage (chap. v.) : 'By his lieutenants he waged very many wars, for he conquered even the Britons by his lieutenant Lollius Urbicus, having pushed the barbarians away and drawn another wall made of turf [across the island], and he forced the Moors to beg for peace,' and so on. There are some little indications in this passage that it was written, if not by the author of the life of Hadrian, at any rate by someone who had that life before him.¹² It will be seen that it speaks of another wall, and that it describes it as 'built of turf,' a description which the recent explorations of the Glasgow Archaeological Society prove to be exactly accurate, for the sections which they have made show at regular intervals the black streaks of that which was grass alternating with the brown soil, so that in fact we can tell just how many 'cespites' or layers of turf went to the building of each portion of the wall between the Forth and the Clyde, the undoubted wall of Antoninus.

After six more lives, the work of various authors, we come to the life of Severus, which, like that of Hadrian, is attributed to Spartianus.

¹² The use of the word 'alio' and the expression 'muro ducto' as in the former life.

He, after enumerating this emperor's victories in the east over Persians, Arabians and Adiabeni, says (chap. xvii.): 'The greatest glory of his reign is that he fortified Britain by a wall drawn across the island and ending on both sides with the ocean, for which achievement he received the name of Britannicus.'

This, again, is a memorable passage in the history of the Wall, the very Thermopylae or Hougoumont of the controversy, a fortress which has been taken, lost, and retaken over and over again, and round whose walls antiquaries will probably fight for generations to come. The difficulty lies chiefly in this: that we have here a distinct attribution to Severus of the building of a wall across Britain from sea to sea, but no allusion to the fact mentioned by the same author in his life of Hadrian that a wall had been originally built in the same place. The word 'restored' or 'repaired' instead of 'built' would have made all things clear. The introduction of 'aliud' (another) here, as in the life of Antoninus, would have had the like effect; or if there had been any change in the word used for wall, if *murus* had been used in one place and *vallum* in another, the two narratives might still have been perfectly consistent. This difficulty induced Hodgson at one time to throw overboard altogether this sentence in the life of Severus, and to suggest that it was inserted here instead of in the life of Hadrian by mere inadvertence. He himself afterwards perceived that this was going too far, and I do not think any scholar would be satisfied with such a drastic remedy. The probability is that Spartianus, who, as I have said, was a mere literary hack of no great learning or ability, found in the works of those who had gone before him these two statements attributing the building of a wall across Britain to two different emperors, and incorporated them both in his book without perceiving that they required at least some attempt at reconciliation.

There is another passage in this life of Severus by Spartianus which, if the text were not so evidently corrupt, and if a certain emendation of it were allowed, might help us much, but which at present seems to make the darkness of the mural controversy only darker.

The hitherto received text of this passage (which describes one of the omens which foretold the death of Severus) is 'Post murum apud vallum in Britannia missum cum ad proximam mansionem rediret.'

To the advocates of a certain theory there is a strong temptation to translate this: 'When Severus was returning to the nearest lodging-place after building his [stone] wall near the [earthen] rampart in Britain.' But (1) we have no authority for translating 'mittere' 'to send' by 'to build.' (2) The words 'stone' and 'earth' which we have inserted are unauthorized glosses. (3) It now appears that the two best MSS. of the *Historia Augusta* (Bambergensis and Palatinus) and the *Editio Princeps*,¹³ which is also founded on a MS. of respectable authority, unite in reading *Maurum* instead of *Murum*. What the meaning of his 'sending a Moor to the rampart in Britain' may be we know not. Perhaps it alludes to some event to which we have lost the clue. In any case the passage is too obscure, or the text too corrupt, to make a safe foundation for any theory.

The author goes on to say: 'When he was returning to the nearest *mansio* (lodging-place, not only victorious, but also having established peace on eternal foundations, and revolving in his mind what omen would next meet him,—the whole of this life of Severus is full of stories of omens of glory or of disaster—'a certain Ethiopian from the ranks of the soldiery, a well-known buffoon, who was always playing practical jokes, met him with a wreath woven of cypresses (the funereal leaf). When the emperor in a rage ordered him to be removed from his sight, looking upon the man's black skin and cypress wreath as both ominous of evil, the Ethiopian is asserted to have said by way of a joke: "Thou hast been everything; thou hast conquered everything; now let God be the conqueror."'

The general meaning of the story is clear. Severus, who did actually die at York after his Caledonian campaign, was met by a negro soldier—in a certain sense a fellow-countryman, as he, too, came from Africa—and this man's colour, his cypress wreath, and his clumsily jocose words, all pointed to the approaching end of Severus.

But, as before said, what to make of the words: 'post maurum' or 'murum apud vallum missum' is an enigma to which I am afraid we are not likely soon, if ever, to find the answer.¹⁴

One more passage which at least illustrates the subject may be quoted from the same life of Severus:¹⁵ 'Great was his service to the

¹³ Printed at Milan, 1475.

¹⁴ It seems to me that Hodgson in his comments on this passage, iii. 308, 309, and 315, by substituting 'the *Vallum* at the *Murus*' for 'the *Murus* at the *Vallum*' vitiates his whole argument.

¹⁵ Chap. xxiii.

city in this respect that at Rome he restored all the public buildings which were falling into decay by the lapse of time, nowhere hardly affixing his own name but always keeping the titles of the original builders.' This certainly points to Severus as essentially a restorer, and one who was more anxious to do the needful work than to claim the glory of it, one who might, therefore, very probably have restored Hadrian's work (though I must repeat that this is not what Spartianus says) without obliterating Hadrian's name.

With the *Historia Augusta* ends, I consider, all independent Roman testimony as to the builder of the Wall. The assertions of Eutropius, of Aurelius Victor, of Orosius, of Cassiodorus, that Severus built a wall in Britain whose length they state in varying numbers from thirty-two to one hundred and thirty-two miles,¹⁶ are probably all copied from the same source, and that source possibly the *Historia Augusta*.¹⁷ They do not, therefore, really add anything to our knowledge, though the fact that in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries the name of Severus had entirely replaced that of Hadrian as the builder of the British Wall is one of some importance. More important perhaps is it to note that Cassiodorus in his chronicle (composed about 519) assigns the building of the Wall to the consulate of Aper and Maximus A.D. 207, the year when Severus first came into Britain, four years before his death. It might be said that this date conflicted with the story of the meeting with the negro, which was evidently just before the death of the emperor. On the other hand, Cassiodorus would probably date the building of the Wall from the time when Severus issued the orders for its commencement, and three years would be not an unreasonable time to be occupied with such a work. The building would, on this hypothesis, be begun probably in the summer of 207, and it might be ended in December of 210 or January of 211, when Severus, racked with the gout, furious with the Caledonians, doubtful about the loyalty of his son, the murderous Caracalla, was returning to Eboracum to die.¹⁸

The importance of this notice in Cassiodorus is much increased by

¹⁶ Victor gives thirty-two; Eutropius, Orosius, and Cassiodorus one hundred and thirty-two. The real distance was sixty-eight English miles and three furlongs, equivalent to about seventy-four and one-third Roman miles.

¹⁷ They are, however, inscribed in my list of authorities at the end of this paper, to be taken for what they are worth.

¹⁸ Dion Cassius tells us that Severus died on the 4th of February.



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the fact that it coincides in time with the well-known inscription on the written rock above the river Gelt. From this inscription we learn that an *officina* or gang of stone-workers under the command of a petty officer or *optio* named Agricola were working this rock in the year which had Aper and Maximus for its consuls, the very year named by Cassiodorus.

The next authority which we have to notice, prior in date to one or two of those already mentioned, and not one that touches the question of the builders of the Wall, is the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*. This was a sort of army list and civil service almanack of the Roman state. From it we derive almost all our information as to the gradation of ranks in the official hierarchy, and the disposition of the legions in the provinces of the empire. There is good reason to suppose that each successive emperor made with his own hand a copy of this important document; and the MS. from which our present copies of the *Notitia* are printed may have descended, with but few intervening exemplars, from one traced in purple characters by the august fingers of Arcadius or Honorius.

In the second part of this document, which relates to the western empire, we have a chapter of the deepest interest for us which contains the disposition of the troops: 'Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Britanniarum,' and a sub-section, most interesting of all, entitled 'Item per lineam Valli.' It is from this page of the *Notitia*, combined with the evidence of inscriptions, that Horsley recovered the true names of the Roman stations from Wallsend to Gilsland, rightly inferring that as the *ala* of the Astures was stationed at Cilurnum, that must have been the imperial name of the camp at Chesters, where the inscriptions of that *ala* are found; and so with Procolitia, Borcovicus, and all the other stations in the region indicated above.

But what we have here especially to note is that this sub-section is headed *per lineam Valli*. *Vallum*, therefore, we may safely conclude, was the generic name of the line of the Roman fortification in Britain when that chapter of the *Notitia* was compiled.

Our next authority is one of a most puzzling kind. His own age and country are doubtful, and we cannot tell in listening to his diffuse and declamatory periods whether he is really adding anything valuable to our stock of information or is simply 'darkening counsel

by words without knowledge.' I refer to the monk Gildas, from whom are derived almost all the facts or legends concerning the conquest of Britain by the Angles and Saxons which have become part of the received text of history.

Gildas appears to have been an inhabitant either of Wales or of 'West Wales' (as Cornwall and Devonshire were once called), and, according to Mommsen,¹⁹ he was born at the very end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, certainly before A.D. 504. There is some authority for the statement that he died A.D. 569 or 570. But all the facts about his life and personality are wrapped in much obscurity, so that a recent writer has argued with some plausibility that the work *De Excidio Britanniae*, by which he is best known, is not his at all, but was written by an unknown scribe a full century later.²⁰ It does not seem to me that he has proved his point, but the mere existence of such a controversy shows how far we have drifted away from the region of well-defined, clearly-dated history.

However, let Gildas's contributions to the history of our Wall be taken for what they are worth. They amount to this, that it was a work not of the second or even of the third century, but one that marked the decline and approaching ruin of Roman domination in our island. The Roman legions, he says, had followed Maximus on to the Continent when he rebelled against Gratian (A.D. 383), and for a time established himself as emperor at Milan. He knows nothing of any return of the legions, nor of the re-establishment of the imperial domination. But he says that Britain, being ravaged by the Picts and Scots, languished under their oppression for many years, and then cried to Rome for help. A legion came and speedily delivered her. The Britons were ordered to construct a wall across the island between the two seas for a terror to the enemy and a defence to the citizens; but this wall being built by the unreasoning, vulgar herd without a director, and made of turves, not of stones, was of no good.

The legion, he says, returned to Rome, and the Picts and Scots renewed their ravages. A second time the Britons cried for help, and with eagle-like swiftmess the Romans crossed the sea and swooped down upon the foe. But having delivered the country, they plainly

¹⁹ In his edition of Gildas for the *Monumenta Germanicæ Historica*, p. 5.

²⁰ Mr. A. Anscombe, in various letters to the *Academy* between September 14th and November 16th, 1895.

told its inhabitants that so mighty and so brave an army could not be harassed by laborious expeditions such as these against paltry bands of robbers. The Britons must learn to defend themselves, their wives, their children, and their country against nations who were really no stronger than they if they would only shake off their timidity and sloth. They must arm themselves with sword, with shield, and with spear, and stretch forth their ready right hands to the slaughter. But, moreover, thinking that the following plan would do something to help the people whom they were leaving behind them, 'the Romans set about building a wall, not like the previous one, but in the style regularly used in such structures. This wall was built by contributions from the public treasury as well as from private individuals, and by the united labours of the Roman soldiers and the miserable natives; and it went from sea to sea by a direct course, between the cities which had been, perchance, placed there through fear of the enemy. Having done this and given many counsels of valour to the trembling people, and shown them how they ought to use their arms, they departed.'

So much for the account of the building of the Roman Wall given by Gildas, or whoever is the author of *De Excidio Britanniae*. He gives no dates, but from the sequence of events in his story one would say that he assigns the building of the first, useless, turf-made wall, to somewhere about 400, and the second, or stone wall, to 420. A third irruption of the barbarians, and a third cry for help, this time to Aetius, thrice consul, bring down the story to about 446. I have given the story as he tells it, but I may say that I do not think it is worth much.

We now come to the last work that I purpose to notice in this paper, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of our great countryman Baeda, compiled about the year 731, or rather more than three centuries after the Romans evacuated Britain. He very emphatically and pointedly attributes the building of a turf wall, which he calls *vallum* (not a stone *murus*) to Severus.

'In the year from the incarnation of Our Lord, 189 [it should be 193], Severus, an African from the town of Leptes, seventeenth from Augustus, obtained the empire, which he held for seventeen years. He being stern by nature, and much harassed by perpetual wars,

nevertheless ruled the Republic with great courage and industry. Being conqueror in the civil wars, which sorely taxed his powers, he was drawn into Britain by the defection of nearly all his allies [the subject chiefs of Britain], where, after fighting many hard battles, he formed the decision to divide that part of the island which he had recovered from the other unsubdued nations, not with a *murus*, as some have supposed, but with a *vallum*. For a *murus* is built of stones, but a *vallum*, with which a camp is fortified against the onset of an enemy, is made of sods of earth. These are cut round and taken out of the earth, and out of them a structure like a wall is raised high above the ground, in such fashion that in front is the ditch out of which the sods have been taken, and on the top are fixed sharp stakes of very strong wood. Severus then drew from sea to sea a great ditch and a very strong *vallum*, fortified with frequent towers above; and then died of disease at the town of Eboracum.'

This passage of Baeda is, I believe, the cause of our distinguishing in ordinary archaeological parlance between the stone *murus* and the earthen *vallum*, and is our sole authority for doing so. Wonderfully learned man as the monk of Jarrow was, it will probably be admitted that his authority on a philological question like this is not considerable. It is too late now to try to upset this usage (which, after all, has the recommendation of convenience), but we must admit that there is virtually no evidence that the Romans themselves called the two lines of defence by the names by which we know them.

In a later chapter Baeda, after relating the departure of the Romans from Britain and the invasion of the Picts and Scots, goes on to describe the embassies to Rome, the succour given from thence, the building of a turf wall, and afterwards of a stone wall by the advice and with the assistance of the legions, in words so evidently borrowed from Gildas, or from some author whom Gildas copied, that it is not necessary to repeat them here.

Only, as being himself an inhabitant of Northumbria, and living in the neighbourhood of the still existing Wall, he adds to the narrative of Gildas some memorable, though possibly not altogether accurate, words as to the dimensions and appearance of the Wall in his day, five centuries after Hadrian, four centuries after Severus, three centuries after the departure of the Romans from Britain.

‘Moreover, because they thought to bring some [lasting] advantage to the allies whom they were forced to abandon, they founded of firm stone-work a wall from sea to sea in a right line between the cities which had been built there through fear of the enemy, where also Severus of old had made his *vallum*. This Wall, in truth, still famous and conspicuous, they constructed at the public and private expense, having joined a band of Britons with themselves, and it was eight feet broad and twelve high, in a right line from east to west, as is still manifest to those who at this day behold it.’

Here I must stop. There are some thorny questions ahead of us connected with the terrible name of Nennius, but we have got far away from anything that could in any sense be called authoritative statements as to the foundation of the Wall, and I prefer here to close my enquiry into their value.

Upon a review of the whole evidence afforded by this literary history, it will probably be admitted that it is not decisive as to any of the questions which most interest us in reference to the builder of the Northumbrian Wall.

(1) That Agricola built some of our camps is highly probable.

(2) That Hadrian connected these camps by some kind of rampart and drew a line of some kind across the island from Tyne to Solway is certain. That Antoninus Pius ordered the erection of the turf wall from Clyde to Forth is also certain.

(3) That Severus did something to re-establish the great barrier which had been broken down by the incursions of the barbarians at the time of Commodus is, I think we may say, certain.

(4) The stories which ascribe the building of the Wall to the Britons, helped by Roman soldiers in the fifth century during the dying days of the empire, we may, I think, disregard as late, legendary, and in themselves utterly improbable.

And looking to the literary evidence as a whole, seeing how late the best of it is, how emphatically *not* contemporary, we must feel that it is entirely inadequate to decide the questions raised. The evidence of coins, if the place of their discovery is carefully noted and great vigilance be used to exclude all but genuine finds: the evidence of inscriptions (if here, too, we are careful to mark the exact place of their discovery and to satisfy ourselves that they are found

where they were first placed); and, above all, the evidence of the Wall, the aggers, and the fosses themselves, if we study them carefully upon the spot, with minds unbiassed by any foregone conclusion, must eventually decide the question before us if it shall ever be possible for man to decide it.

Everything shows the absolute necessity of accurate and patient excavations, liberally supported by all Englishmen who are interested in the earlier chapters of the history of their land, if we are ever to speak with any certainty upon this and many another interesting question connected with the story of *BRITANNIA ROMANA*.

APPENDIX.

CHIEF PASSAGES BEARING ON THE HISTORY OF THE WALL.

A.D. 79.—TACITI AGRICOLA, cap. xx.

‘Ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quominus subitis excursibus popularetur: atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars.’

A.D. 80.—TACITI AGRICOLA, cap. xxii.

‘Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine terrii hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fugâ desertum; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur.’

A.D. 81.—TACITI AGRICOLA, cap. xxiii.

‘Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percurrerat insumpta; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsâ Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.’

DION CASSIUS (abstracted by Xiphilinus), lxxii, 8.

Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ πόλεμοί τινες αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν Δακίαν βαρβάρους μέγιστος δὲ ὁ Βρεττανικός. Τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐθνῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διορίζον αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα, καὶ πολλὰ κακουργούντων, στρατηγόν τέ τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὓς εἶχε κατακοψάντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κόμμοδος Μάρκελλον Οὐλπιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν.

Idem, lxxvi, 12.

Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστά εἰσι, Καληδόνιοι καὶ Μαιᾶται· καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα (ὥς εἰπεῖν) συγκεχώρηκεν. Οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιᾶται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατεχίσματι ὃ τὴν νῆσον διχῇ τέμνει, Καληδόνιοι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους, καὶ νέμονται ἑκάτεροι ὄρη ἄγρια καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ πεδία ἔρημα καὶ ἐλώδη, μήτε τεῖχη μήτε πόλεις μήτε γεωργίας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἕκ τε νομῆς καὶ θήρας ἰκροδρύνων τέ τινων ζῶντες. Τῶν γὰρ ἰχθύων ἀπείρων καὶ ἀπλέτων ὄντων οὐ γέγονται. Διαιτῶνται δὲ ἐν σκηναῖς γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐπικοίνοισι χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα ἐκτρέφοντες. Δημοκρατοῦνται τε ὡς πλήθει καὶ ληστεύουσιν ἥδιστα. Στρυτεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἁρμάτων, ἵππους ἔχοντες μικροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς, καὶ πεζοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ δραμεῖν ὀξύτατοι καὶ συστήναι παγιώτατοι.

A.D. 196-7.—DION CASSIUS, lxxv, 5.

Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ. διὰ τὸ τοὺς Καληδονίους μὴ ἐμμεῖναι ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι, τοῖς Μαιᾶταις παρεσκευασμένους ἀμύνει, καὶ διὰ τὸ τότε τὸν Σεουήρον τῷ παροίκῳ πολέμῳ προσκείσθαι, κατηναγκάσθη ὁ Λούπος μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν εἰρήνην παρὰ τῶν Μαιωτῶν ἐκπρίασθαι, αἰχμαλώτους τινὰς ὀλίγους ἀπολαβών.

A.D. 208-211.—*Idem*, lxxvi, 13.

Καὶ τούτων [τῶν Βρεττανῶν] ἡμεῖς οὐ πολλῷ τινι τῆς ἡμисείας ἔλαττόν τι ἔχομεν. Ὁ δ' οὖν Σεουήρος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέψασθαι ἐβελήσας ἐσέβηλεν ἐς τὴν Καλεδονίαν καὶ διῶν αὐτὴν ἀμύθητα πράγματα ἔσχε. . .

Οὐ μέντοι ἀπέστη γε πρὶν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς νήσου πλησιάσαι, ὅπου γε τὰ μάλιστα τὴν τε τοῦ ἡλίου παράλλαξιν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν τε νυκτῶν καὶ τῶν θερινῶν καὶ τῶν χειμερινῶν μέγεθος ἀκριβέστατα κατεφώρασε.

Idem, *ibidem*.

Ἀμύθητα πράγματα ἔσχε, τὰς τε ὕλας τέμνων καὶ τὰ μετέωρα κατασκάπτων τά τε ἔλη χωνυῶν, καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ζευγνύνων. Οὐτε γὰρ μάχην τινὰ ἐμαχέσατο οὔτε πολέμιόν τινα ἐν παρατάξει εἶδε. . . . Καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων δεινῶς ἐκακοῦντο [οἱ στρατιῶται] καὶ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι ἐπεβουλεύοντο. Εἴτ' ἀδυνατοῦντες βαδίζον ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων ἐφονεύοντο, ἵνα μὴ ἀλίσκωνται, ὥστε ἐς πέντε μυριάδας ὅλας τελευτῆσαι.

L. AELIUS SPARTIANUS (*Historia Augusta*) in *vitâ Hadriani*, cap. xi.

‘Ergo conversis regio more militibus Britanniam petit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.’

Idem, cap. xii.

‘Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit.’

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS (*Historia Augusta*) in *vitâ Antonini Pii*, cap. v.

‘Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Brittanos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum, alio muro cespicio summotis barbaris ducto, et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit, etc.

(In view of the passage, cap. xxii, hereafter to be quoted from the life of Severus, it is curious to observe that here also we have ‘Maurus’ introduced in close juxtaposition with the building of a wall in Britain.)

L. AELIUS SPARTIANUS (*Historia Augusta*) in *vitâ Severi*, cap. xviii.

‘Brittaniâ, quod maximum eius imperii decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit. Unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.’

Idem, cap. xxii.

‘Post Maurum apud vallum missum in Britannia cum ad proximam mansionem rediret non solum victor sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata volvens animo, quid ominis sibi occurreret, Aethiops quidam e numero militari, clarae inter scurras famae et celebratorum semper iocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta eidem occurrit. Quem cum ille iratus removeri ab oculis praecepisset, et coloris eius tactus omine et coronae, dixisse ille dicitur ioci causa: “Totum fudisti, totum vicisti, iam deus esto victor.”’

The above reading of the first five words seems to be the only one which has any MS. authority; but as it puzzles the commentators various emendations have been proposed.

- (1) For Maurum, murum, taurum, or maceriens.
- (2) For vallum, Luguwallum, one of the stations on the Wall.
- (3) For missum, visum, or commissum.

Idem, cap. xxiii.

‘Sunt per plurimas civitates opera eius insignia. Magnum vero illud in vita eius, quod Romae omnes aedes publicas, quae vitio temporum labeantur, instauravit, nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto, servatus tamen ubique titulis auditorum.’

EUTROPIUS, fl. circa 370. *Breviarium*, viii. 18, 19.

‘Severus . . . novissimum bellum in Brittania habuit, utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per cxxxii passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit.’

AURELIUS VICTOR JUNIOR,

(so called, apparently an epitomiser of the work of Sextus Aurelius Victor, who wrote in the middle of the fourth century. This epitomiser brings down his work to the death of Theodosius, A.D. 395), cap. xx. 'Hic [Septimius Severus] in Britannia vallum per triginta duo passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit.'

OROSIUS, circa 417. *Hist.* vii. 17.

'Severus victor in Britannias defectu paene omnium sociorum trahitur. Ubi magnis gravibusque proeliis saepe gestis receptam partem insulae a ceteris indomitis gentibus vallo distinguendam putavit. Itaque magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, per centum triginta et duo milia passuum a mari ad mare duxit.'

CASSIODORUS, circa 519. *Chronicon.*

Aper et Maximus [Consules] (A.D. 207).

'His Coss. Severus in Britannos bellum movit, ubi ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per cxxxii passuum millia a mari ad mare duxit.'

NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. (Occidens, cap. xxxviii.)

(May have passed through several earlier editions: probably attained its present form about A.D. 400.)

Cap. xxxviii. Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Britanniarum.

(After mentioning detachments of cavalry and infantry stationed in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and North Lancashire, the document proceeds.)

Item per lineam valli:

Tribunus cohortis quartae Lingonum, Segeduno.

" " primae Cornoviorum, Ponte Aeli.

Praefectus alae primae Asturum, Conderco.

Tribunus cohortis primae Frixagorum, Vindobala.

Praefectus alae Savinianae, Hunno.

" " secundae Asturum, Cilurno.

Tribunus cohortis primae Batavorum, Procolitia.

" " primae Tungrorum, Borcovicio.

" " quartae Gallorum, Vindolana.

" " primae Asturum, Aesica.

" " secundae Dalmatarum, Magnis.

" " primae Aeliae Dacorum, Amboglanna.

Praefectus alae Petrianae, Petrianis.

" numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum, Aballaba.

Tribunus cohortis secundae Lingonum, Cangavata.

" " primae Hispanorum, Axeladuno.

" " secundae Thracum, Gabrosenti.

" " primae Aeliae classicae, Tunnocelo.

" " primae Morinorum, Glannibanta.

" " tertiae Nerviorum, Alione.

Cuneus Armaturarum, Bretemennaco.

Praefectus alae primae Herculeae, Olenaco.

Tribunus cohortis sextae Nerviorum, Virosido.

GILDAS (de Excidio et Conquestre Britanniae, 15).

After describing the denudation of the Roman forces in Britain, caused by the revolt of Maximus, the consequent invasion of the Picts and Scots under which Britannia—'omnis belli usus ignara penitus—multos stupet gemitque annos: in answer to the cry of the provincials for help, 'Mox destinatur legio praeteriti mali immemor, sufficienter armis instructa, quae ratibus trans oceanum in patriam advecta et cominus cum gravibus hostibus congressa magnamque ex eis multitudinem sternens et omnes e finibus depulit et subiectos cives tam atroci dilacerationi ex imminente captivitate liberavit. Quos iussit construere inter duo maria trans insulam murum, ut esset arcendis hostibus turba instructus terrori civibusque tutamini; qui vulgo irrationabili absque rectore factus non tam lapidibus, quam cespitibus non profuit.'

Idem, cap. xviii.

The legion which has wrought this deliverance returns to Italy; the barbarians resume their incursions; again the provincials cry for help, which is speedily rendered by the Roman soldiers. But the Romans, representing that it was a shameful thing that such a splendid army as theirs should be harassed by these perpetually recurring inroads of petty bands of robbers, and that the inhabitants of the country must be trained to do something for their own defence), 'quia et hoc putabant aliquid derelinquendo populo commodi adescere, murum non ut alterum, sumptu publico privatoque adiunctis secum miserabilibus indigenis, solito structurae more, tramite a mari usque ad mare inter urbes, quae ibidem forte ob metum hostium collocatae fuerant, directo librant: fortia formidoloso populo monita tradunt, exemplaria instituendorum armorum relinquunt.'

BAEDA. *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, i. 5.

'Victor ergo civilium bellorum quae ei gravissima occurrerant in Britannias, defectu paene omnium sociorum trahitur, ubi magnis gravibusque proeliis saepe gestis, receptam partem insulae a caeteris indomitis gentibus, non muro ut quidam aestimant sed vallo distinguendam putavit. Murus etenim de lapidibus, vallum vero quo ad repellendam vim hostium castra muniuntur fit de cespitibus, quibus circumcisis, e terra velut murus exstruitur altus supra terram, ita ut in ante sit fossa, de qua levati sunt cespites, supra quam sudes de lignis fortissimis praefiguntur. Itaque Severus magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, a mari ad mare duxit; ibique apud Eboracum oppidum morbo obiit.'

Idem, i. 12.

'Quin etiam, quod et hoc sociis quos derelinquere cogeantur aliquid commodi adlaturum putabant, murum a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes quae ibidem ob metum hostium factae fuerant, ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat, firmo de lapide conlocarunt; quem videlicet murum hactenus famosum atque conspicuum, sumptu publico privatoque, adiuncta secum Brittanorum manu construebant, octo pedes latum et duodecim altum, recta ab oriente in occasum linea, ut usque hodie intuentibus clarum est.'

VII.—THE TOWN WALL OF NEWCASTLE, IN
GALLOWGATE.

BY SHERITON HOLMES.

[Read on the 25th March, 1896.]

IN excavating the foundations for some new buildings at present being erected on the south side of Gallowgate, an interesting portion of the northern face of the town wall has been exposed down to its base, revealing masonry of much better character, and what I take to be of considerably earlier date than the other wall remains present.

In my paper on the Newcastle town walls,¹ I hazarded the opinion that the long-bedded masonry, such as we find in the keep of the Castle and the Black Gate, preceded the peculiar cubical kind characteristic of the town walls generally, in which the stones are nearly square on their faces, and built without much attention to concurrence of the plumb joints; and that the different character of the masonry in the wall near St. Andrew's church led to the belief that it had been built at an earlier date. This opinion, I think, is fully confirmed by the exposure of the excellent masonry of the lower portion of the wall in Gallowgate, which is comparatively long-bedded work: the stones ranging from fifteen to twenty-four inches long and eight to ten inches in depth.

The foundations are very shallow, there being only about twelve inches of rubble under the first course of dressed masonry which is twelve inches in depth. Above this is a double line of splayed courses, each seven and a half inches deep, stepped up towards the west, truly dressed and set, from which, to a height of four feet nine inches, the masonry is well coursed work, and arranged so as to avoid plumb jointing, though in many places the scanty depth of the stones has necessitated the use of spillings, or thin pieces of stone packing in the bed joints, so as to make the top line of the course even. This masonry also presents the peculiarity of the upright packing pieces so characteristic of the wall masonry, though in it they are of less frequent

¹ See pages 1-25 of this volume.

occurrence. Above this good masonry, to a height of ten feet, the walling is, or has been, of a somewhat similar character, but it is not so regularly built, and the exposure to weather, rats, and rough usage, has opened the joints and made it present a very different appearance from that below it. The loss of mortar and spillings also tends to make the big joints more perceptible, but notwithstanding its present very different appearance, I think it possible that the greater portion of it may be coeval in age with that below. Not so, however, the portion above it, including the parapet, to a height of nine feet three inches, which is distinctively of the cubical character, and clearly an addition at a later date.

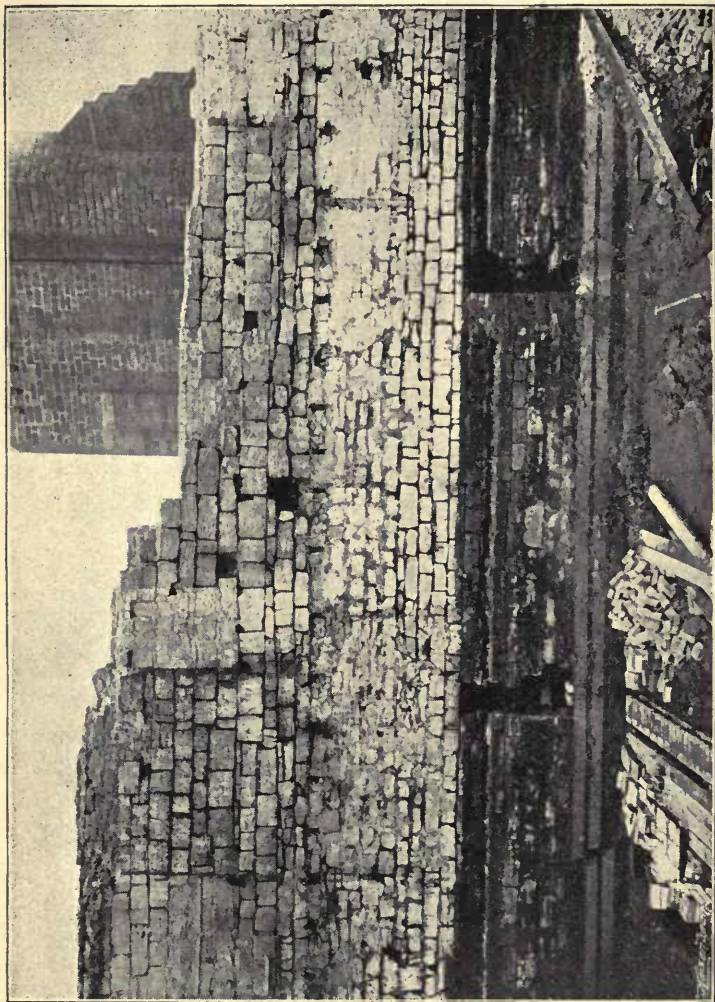
The mortar with which the walls have been built is of very poor character, the quantity of lime being deficient, and that completely killed by admixture with a fine loam instead of sand, so that it remains in a crumbling state without any adhesive power whatever.

In excavating for the cross walls of the new building in the mud of the fosse, I ascertained that the angle of slope of the fosse from the wall base was at the rate of eight horizontal to four perpendicular, or a slope of two to one. A bank of clay runs along the fosse parallel to its course, which the builder thinks is original ground. If this be so, the ditch has been of a double character, but this, I think, is extremely improbable.

There was nothing found of any importance in the excavated ground. Some horses' skulls and bones were turned up out of the fosse mud, and a portion of an old Delft dish, the design and colours of which are very good. The date of this dish would probably be towards the end of the seventeenth century, and having been found in the fosse it would mark the latest time when the fosse remained open.

On my first reaching the place I ascertained that it was the intention to cut away and destroy the lower portion of the wall, but on explaining to the builder, Mr. Hutchenson, the great desirability of leaving it undisturbed, he took an intelligent view of the matter, and devised a plan whereby it could be saved. This received the assent of the architects, Messrs. Liddle & Browne, and is now being carried into effect, whereby the masonry with its splayed courses will not only be preserved but exposed to view in the cellarage of the building.

By the kind co-operation of Mr. Park, photographs of the wall face have been taken, which show the different kinds of masonry, and the accompanying section² of it at the place, marks their various

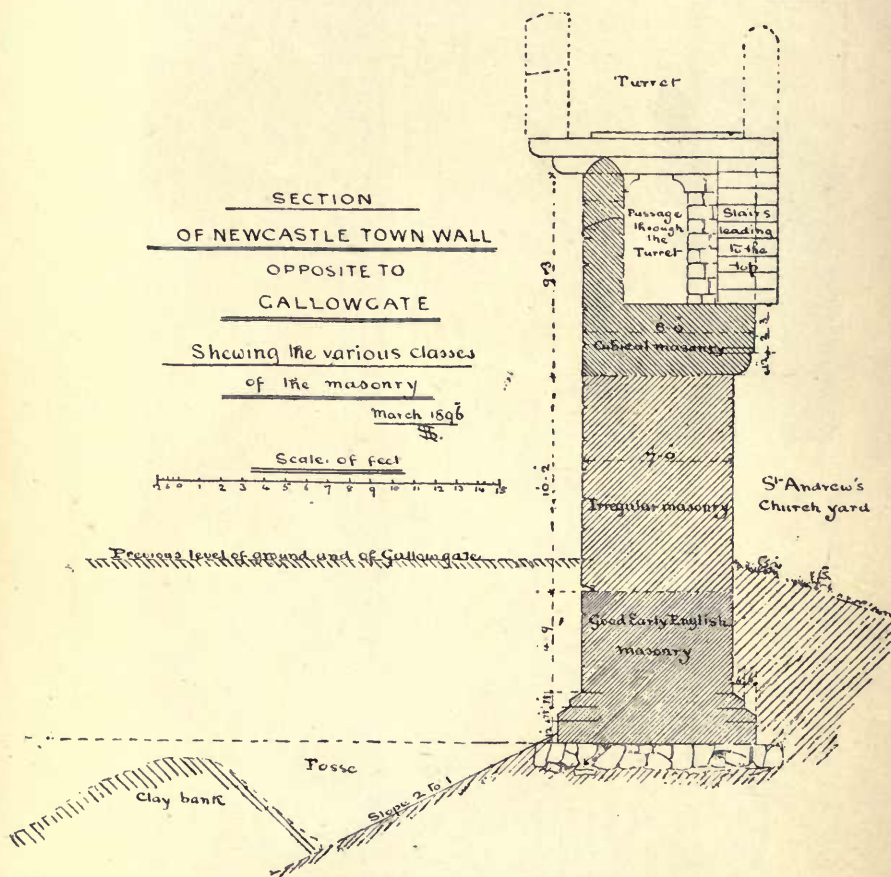


The TOWN WALL IN GALLOWGATE, NEWCASTLE, with tower of St. Andrew's Church behind it.
(From a photograph by Mr. Fredk. Park, of Newcastle.)

heights. The thickness of the wall above the dado is seven feet six inches, and the extreme height from the fosse level to the underside of the parapet coping is twenty-six feet five inches.

² See next page.

It is very curious that the present level of Gallowgate is between eight and nine feet above what must have been the level of the top of the fosse, and only eight feet below the top of the older masonry. It is scarcely to be imagined that the wall builders would have left so



commanding a height so close up to their barrier, and yet the slope of ground to the north of Gallowgate seems of a normal character as though the level of the street had not undergone alteration.



AUCKLAND CHAPEL.

Interior from the N.E.

(From a photograph by Mr. H. Kilburn of Bishop Auckland.)

VIII.—THE CHAPEL OF AUCKLAND CASTLE.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON, M.A., Vicar of Witton-le-Wear.

[Read on the 26th February, 1896.]

I.

WHEN, or by whom the first episcopal manor-house or palace at Auckland was founded is unknown. The earliest mention of the place itself is that found in Symeon (ed. Bedford, p. 150), from which we learn that about the year 1000, the two Aucklands (Aclit II.), together with several other possessions of the see, were temporarily surrendered by bishop Aldhune to Uchtred, earl of Northumberland, in aid of the wars then raging. But, as he speedily discovered, lands thus alienated were far more easily parted with than recovered; and it was not till the days of his successor, Eadmund, that king Cnut at length restored those of Auckland and some few others of them to the church.

It has been imagined—a vain thing, however, as I think—that the site of the castle was utilized in Roman times as a sort of outpost to the great neighbouring station of Binchester; yet, for no other reason than that it occupied the point of a peninsula between two streams, the Wear and the Gaunless, a very favourite one for the purpose.¹ But no single fragment of that period, either of masonry or fictilia, has ever, so far as I am aware, been discovered on the spot; nor would they, even in such case, unless in actual position, prove more in this instance than in the adjoining one of Escomb, viz., that they had been gathered from the same source. The existing building has been described, and its history touched upon, by Hutchinson and Billings, as well as at more recent dates by the late Mr. Sidney Gibson, in vol. ii. of the *Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society*, and by Mr. Boyle, in a short history of the county, published by and for Walter Scott & Co. But by far the completest and most exhaustive account is that written by the late Dr. Raine,

¹ Among other local examples may be instanced those of Bowes, Piercebridge, and Greta Bridge, near Rokeby, at which latter place very considerable earth-works remain in excellent preservation.

at the request, and cost, of bishop Maltby. Of this all future notices must necessarily take account, since it gathers together in one focus the whole history, not merely of the building, but of its builders, as well as of all those prelates who, from age to age, have dwelt in it.

It would seem probable, both from the convenience of the situation and natural beauty of the spot, so near the castle and cathedral church of Durham on the one hand, and forest of Weardale on the other, that it became a country seat of the bishops at a very early period indeed ; perhaps, as Dr. Raine conjectures, from the time of its retrocession to bishop Eadmund (1020-1040). But, however that may be, it certainly was, and apparently had long been, occupied by his successors in the following century, when the great survey, known as Boldon Book, was made under bishop Pudsey in 1183. It is there referred to constantly in the same breath as Durham, with which it is bracketed throughout, as a place of like established and habitual residence ; and its park and orchard are especially mentioned.² The place was thus evidently one of some local importance, and its buildings, however rude and inferior in comparison with those of after days, extensive enough for the accommodation of a considerable household. That they were really of a more or less rude and ephemeral character may be gathered from the fact of their having long since wholly vanished ; not a vestige of them, apparently, having existed for many centuries.

But to whatever period their construction may have reached, and whatever additions or improvements may have been effected in them by former occupants of the see, the work of reconstruction, involving, perhaps, partial demolition, fell clearly to the lot of that great builder,

² ' Monachus cocus tenet pro servitio suo ad voluntatem Episcopi j. acram et dimidiam, quas Willelmus Scot et Elstanus et Willelmus Boie tenebant, et infra parcam et extra xix. acras et dimidiam de terra lucrabili, et de terra non lucrabili x acras.' . . . 'Luce Makerell tenet j. domum juxta pomarium Domini Episcopi, et reddit in festo Sancti Cuthberti dimidiam libram cimini.' (25 Surtees Soc. p. 24.)

' In Mortona sunt xvj. firmarii, qui . . . faciunt viij. ladas ad Dunolm. in anno, vel iv. ad Alclet,' etc. (*Ib.* p. 8.)

' In Stanhopa sunt xx. villani, quorum unusquisque . . . portat venationes apud Dunolm. et apud Alclet,' etc. (*Ib.* p. 29.)

' Byncestre . . . quadrigat j. tonellum vini et lapidem molendini apud Alclet.' (*Ib.* p. 37.)

' In North Alcland sunt xxij. villani, quorum unusquisque . . . reddit ij. quadrigatas de woldade, si apud Alclet duxerint, et, si apud Dunolm. ij. quadrigatas et dimidiam,' etc. (*Ib.* p. 23.)

the mighty and beneficent Hugh Pudsey. Yet, though the structure as left by him and the several prelates who, during the course of the next three centuries, added to it, has for a long period—from the days of bishop Sherwood in the fifteenth century indeed—been known by the courtesy title of castle, it would seem never, in any strict or proper sense, to have merited such term. Till then, it had been known by no loftier appellation than that of manor; and the bishop himself, in a letter dated January, 1489, addressed to sir John Paston, describes it as his 'Castel or Manoir of Aucland.' The term, it is clear, was then just beginning to creep into use. But with all its enlargements—and they were at that time far from being finished—manor, and manor only, to all intents and purposes, it must have been. Its earliest designation was the simpler, and doubtless, far correcter, one of 'Halha,' or hall. And it is not a little interesting to know that, just as in the neighbouring case of Raby, it was with the hall that the work of rebuilding under the lordly Pudsey was begun. And well, indeed, might it thenceforward be known as the 'Hall' *par excellence*. At the time, with the single exception, perhaps, of the great hall in the king's palace of Westminster (of which, however, we know little or nothing particularly), there was none other, probably, of its kind in all the land, which could compete with it in size, and none whatever, that of Westminster itself even included, which could approach it in beauty and richness of decoration.³ Whether or not a previous structure of the kind ever occupied the site cannot now be said, but its peculiar position, all but detached from the other buildings, coupled with its

³ The royal hall at Westminster was of the same size originally as now, though, as may well be supposed, when its age, viz., that of William Rufus, is considered, in all other respects of very inferior character. That it was divided into a nave and aisles is certain from its great breadth, but whether the division was effected by arcades of wood or stone is, perhaps, uncertain. It was, however, quite an exceptional and unparalleled structure which, though vastly larger, could not for a moment compare in point of architectural excellence with this of Pudsey. Neither could that, also of Norman date, of which there are still some slight surviving remains at Farnham castle. The slightly earlier hall at Oakham, the only surviving secular hall of equal age (of which more hereafter), beautiful as are its details, is, as a whole, as inferior to it in size as in general grandeur of design. The infirmary halls of the greater monasteries (hereafter referred to) were doubtless, even then, fine buildings in their way, but most of them were destroyed and rebuilt at later periods. That of Ely, some few years earlier, the extensive remains of which will be noticed further on, though a grand and rich structure, was yet part of one of the most important monastic foundations in the land, and therefore, as such, quite apart from the class to which this at Auckland belonged, viz., that of bishops' country houses.

great size, and the fact that its own special appurtenances of kitchen, etc., lay still farther remote from them, leads pretty certainly to the conclusion that the work was an addition, and wholly new. With those other buildings which, together with itself and those dependent on it, served to make up the group known in the aggregate as the hall or manor, I am in no way concerned; my purpose in the following account being to deal historically and architecturally with the structure which, erected primarily by bishop Pudsey as a new hall to the old manor in the twelfth, was consecrated and converted into a chapel by his successor, bishop Cosin, in the seventeenth, century. It will be convenient, therefore, to examine it in connection with these two several uses: first, that for which it was originally built; and secondly, that to which it was subsequently applied.

II.

As the hall, or as I should, perhaps, rather say, the great, or new, hall of the old manor-house of Auckland, it could scarcely fail at the time of its erection to have burst forth upon the country-side as a species of revelation, so greatly in advance was it of anything in the way of domestic architecture that had been seen or heard of there before; for there was no other, far or wide, which could in any way compare with it. At Raby, the ancient Saxon or Norman hall remained till then untouched, and such would also be the case at Lumley. Though entirely dissimilar, the only halls of any importance in the neighbourhood—if, indeed, they did not only form a single one in two storeys—were those in Durham castle.⁴ And, singularly

⁴That the same principles which were applied to double chapels, of which we had, and have still, many instances—that of Auckland itself formerly among the number—should be extended to the halls or great chambers of castles, when these, as at Durham, forming part of the actual fortifications, were of limited dimensions, seems both reasonable, and likely enough. The arrangements in many of the Scotch castles, such as those of Borthwick, Castle Campbell, Craigmillar, and Liberton, among others, point strongly to such a conclusion, which appears to be that also locally and generally entertained. Though lighted by two sets of windows and with fireplaces in each stage, the rows of corbels at mid-height have much rather the appearance of being designed to carry comparatively narrow galleries along the sides, with, perhaps, broader ones at one or both ends, than an unbroken floor over the whole surface, thereby severing all connection, by dividing the chamber into two distinct storeys. For this, their proportions, while perfectly adapted for a single apartment, are quite unfitted, both divisions being much too low, and the upper one consisting of little or nothing else than arched roof.

Parker, in his *Domestic Architecture* (vol. iii. pt. i.), speaking of the 'Hall,' says—'In some instances, when the hall was lofty, there was also a gallery round

enough, both of these also owed their present form, if not their origin, to the same author as itself. Built, in the first instance, either by the Conqueror, his son Robert, or the contemporary bishops in obedience to their orders, Coldingham tells us how both of them, as their details remain to show, were reconstructed at an earlier period of his reign by Pudsey: 'In castello itaque Dunhelmiae ædificia, qua primis episcopatus sui temporibus flamma consumpserat, renovavit.' (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres*, 12.)

That the massive stone walls should either have perished in the fire, or become so injured by it as to need general rebuilding, is not, perhaps, to be supposed. They were probably far too substantial for that, and Pudsey's work could hardly have gone much further than what Coldingham calls renovation, a renewing, that is, only in a far richer and more elegant fashion, of the architectural details. Nevertheless, while thus greatly adorning them, he doubtless followed, as he could hardly help doing, both the original dimensions and arrangement of the halls, which, built one above the other, were, whether separate or connected, some seventy-five feet in length, by twenty-six feet in breadth; the lower one being the chief, and, as to its walls, the loftier, of the two. But these, though unequalled either in size or richness among those of the palatinate at the period, had nothing in common with that which, many years after their completion, the same great master builder set about erecting at Auckland. The former, it must be borne in mind, constituted a central part of a fortress, and their general form and dimensions were necessarily governed by those conditions. None such, however, attached to the new work. With ample space in all directions, the bishop was free to carry out the scheme of his new hall there without any limitations whatever, and give full scope to all the higher qualities of that new school of

the upper part of the wall, immediately under the roof; this is said to have been a general practice in Scotland, but it is often difficult to decide whether there was a gallery or a low upper chamber separated by a floor; the woodwork has always been destroyed, and the corbels, the upper windows, and the doorways, would be the same in either case; in many of the Scotch towers the hall is so small and narrow that it does not seem probable there was a gallery; on the other hand, in the larger castles, where the hall is on a grand scale, it is very probable there was such an arrangement. This appears to have been the case at Durham, where the roof was evidently intended to be seen from below, while the clerestorey windows and corbels seem to show that there was originally a gallery, where a floor has since been introduced.'

architecture which, during the interval, had achieved so marvellous a development. It was a great opportunity, and turned to brilliant account.

As to the halls of castles pure and simple—save where, as in the case of Newcastle, they were mere temporary structures, erected either in the courtyard or some other open space within the walls of *enceinte*—they were, as a rule, not only always of more or less restricted dimensions, but in plan, simple, aisleless parallelograms. Such, for example, among our northern ones, were those at Ravensworth, Richmond, Middleham, Sheriff-Hutton, Brougham, Bolton, Alnwick, Harbottle, Prudhoe, Norham, Wark, Bamburgh, Ford, Lumley, Brancepeth, and Barnard Castle, both those at Raby, as well as that known as Hatfield's, at Durham—one of the largest and stateliest in the land. And such, among others elsewhere, were those of Stokesay, Raglan, Conway, Carnarvon, Cardiff, Bodiam, Hurstmonceux, Berkeley, Warwick, and Kenilworth; and, indeed, of all the English, Welsh, and Scottish castles that I know of, including that known as the parliament hall in the royal castle or palace of Linlithgow.⁵

Nor did the halls of the great manor-houses or palaces differ at all as to plan from those of the castles, the same simple arrangement being found in the palace halls of Wells, Westminster, Eltham, Hampton Court, Lambeth, Mayfield, and St. David's—the very finest of their class; and of manor-houses, such as those of Penshurst, Fawsley, Athelhampton, Cowdray, Great Chalfield, and others without number. And if to this vast multitude we add those of the Inns of Court, the college halls of the universities, those of the various guilds and corporations, and the refectories of the great monasteries and religious houses throughout the land, we shall then, and not till then, I think, understand how practically all-pervading and universal the application of this rule was.

Here, however, as in some few other special instances, a different plan was followed—more spacious, imposing, and picturesque. Instead

⁵The only partial exception to the rule that I know of occurs at Warkworth, where the inner side of the hall towards the court-yard has had a single aisle of three bays. But as the castle was certainly in existence before the invasion of William the Lion, king of Scotland, who laid siege to it in 1173, and as the slight remaining details of the arcade are of distinctly later date, *circa* 1220, it was pretty certainly an addition, and formed no part of the original plan.

of a simple rectangular apartment, we have one composed of a central, and two side aisles, and which, standing all but independent of the main buildings, received light freely on all sides. It may safely, I think, be said to have been the first, as it probably ever after continued to be the sole, instance of the kind in the four northern counties. Yet, for all that, its design cannot be said to have been new. Originally, and before its internal arrangements were swept away under Richard II., Rufus's great hall in the royal palace at Westminster⁶—unless its pillars and arched braces were of wood—must certainly have been constructed on this system; as was also, though but so short a time previously as to have been practically contemporary, the well-known hall of Oakham castle. But, all told—whatever may once have been their number, and it was always very limited—I know of but three other examples of such halls, viz., those of Oakham, Lincoln, and Winchester still remaining in the kingdom—a fourth, constructed on the same principle by the famous Grostête at Buckden palace, having, with some few others, belonging almost exclusively to the hunting, and other lodges of the crown, long since perished. They were, in fact, about the rarest features to be met with in the whole range of domestic architecture, whether castellated or palatial. And this circumstance at once suggests an enquiry as to their origin, and the prototypes from which they may not improbably have been derived.

Now, that such were to be found in the infirmary halls of the greater monasteries, can hardly, I think, be doubted. Many of these last were certainly of earlier construction than any of the aisled secular halls which have come down to us, and they afford, both in themselves and their accessories, the most perfect analogy to them possible. In them alone, as a class, do we find the same triple arrangement of a great central and two side aisles, accompanied by special culinary and other dependencies—buildings at once so airy, spacious, and convenient, that they might well be taken as models for those of

⁶ This magnificent structure, which is no less than two hundred and thirty-nine feet long by sixty-eight feet wide, surpasses enormously in dimensions all others in the kingdom; the next largest, I think, viz., those known as Hatfield's at Durham, and bishop Burnell's at Wells, being only one hundred and thirty-one feet by thirty-five feet, and one hundred and fifteen feet by fifty-nine feet and a half, respectively. The hall at Oakham, which measures but sixty-five feet by forty-three feet internally, is thus little more than a quarter as long as that of Westminster, and shorter by three feet in length than it is in breadth. But in all cases the royal halls occupied a special place, and were subject to special conditions.

the same type, designed, as many of them, at any rate, appear to have been, for especial use on great occasions,⁷ and for which the dimensions of the ordinary everyday hall would be quite inadequate.

III.

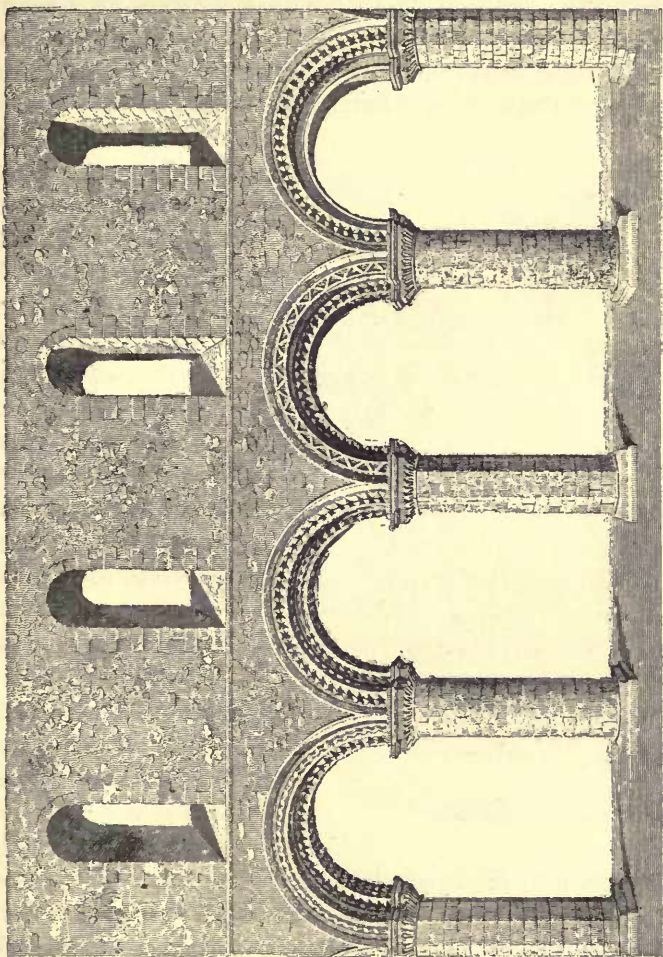
How many of these aisled infirmary halls there were altogether, we cannot, of course, in our present very imperfect state of knowledge, pretend to say. But remains of them, more or less distinct, may still be seen of Norman date at Westminster, Ely, and Norwich, as well as of later reconstructions of others of Norman origin at Canterbury, Peterborough, Gloucester, and Fountains abbey—where, if the second and smaller one forming part of the *Xenodochium*, were not, as may perhaps, have been the case, the guesten hall, there were two: the larger one for the monks, the other, for strangers.

The earliest of these is undoubtedly that at Westminster, which is said to date from about the end of the eleventh century. It is now known as the chapel of S. Catherine, and differs in this respect from some others of them in having what looks like a chancel to the east. This, however, should rather, I think, be regarded as the chapel proper, the aisled nave, so to say, forming the infirmary hall, as in the hospitals at Chichester, Glastonbury, and Sherborne; while the two, thus symmetrically arranged, give the whole, upon plan, its present very striking resemblance to a church. I say upon plan for, 'the outlines of the walls and the bases of the shafts, hidden, more or less, by modern brickwork, alone remain.' The hall, which is of five bays, is about fifty-two feet in length, by forty-five in breadth, and the chapel about twenty feet by eighteen, internally. They stand south of the cloister court, and eastward of the southern extremity of the long range of buildings in line with the south transept.

Next in point of date to these of Westminster come the remains of the great infirmary at Ely—by far the most perfect and imposing extant, and which, therefore, serve to convey a better idea of the general character and arrangement of such structures than any other. Though for the most part roofless, they yet continue wonderfully well preserved throughout almost their whole extent. At present they form a sort of avenue to the prebendal houses; the arcades being built up

⁷ Such was certainly the case at Lincoln where the lesser hall beside the dining room, and the ruins of the great hall still remain; and such was also the case here at Auckland.

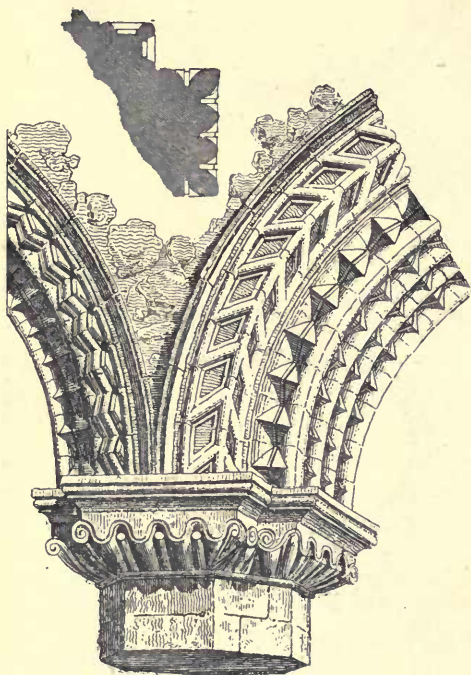
into their walls on either side, while the aisles, or rather the spaces they once occupied, are absorbed into, and form part of, their area. Not only are the dimensions of the several parts on the grandest scale, and the workmanship of the richest kind, but the whole scheme, is set



PART OF ARCADE OF INFIRMARY HALL, ELY.

out in the most complete and normally perfect way conceivable. First comes the magnificent hall proper, in this instance clearstoreyed, and of nine bays, with an external length of a hundred feet. As the accompanying illustration shows, the arches are carried on columns alternately

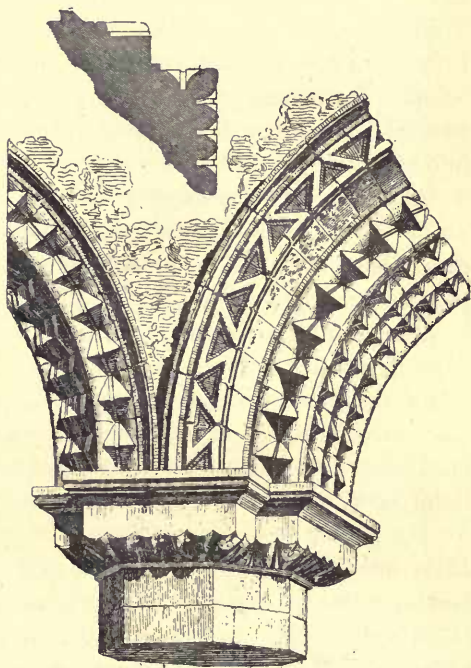
circular and octagonal, the latter presenting alternate angles and flat faces to the front. Anything finer or more fitting than the richness and delicacy of the arch moulds, the varied designs of which, full of thought and play of fancy, give such life and character to the whole, could hardly be conceived. As the width of the aisles, following the common rule of the period, would be, as nearly as possible, just half that of the central nave, the whole internal span of this noble hall may be reckoned at about forty-two feet. But this was far from forming



the whole length of the building. Joined on to it as symmetrically as an ordinary chancel to the body of a church, comes the chapel, entered by an arch which, though smaller than those of chancels usually are, is yet larger than a mere doorway. It is of exactly the same style and character as those of the hall arcades. The chapel to which it gives access, and which still retains two, had originally three distinct parts or divisions, viz., nave, choir, and sanctuary or apse. Of these, the

first is about forty feet in length by twenty in breadth ; the second, twenty feet by fifteen ; while the third, now destroyed, was a semi-circle opening from the latter by a very lofty and highly enriched arch. The nave roof which, like that of the hall, had doubtless been of wood, is gone, but that of the choir, vaulted with richly moulded diagonal and transverse ribs, remains perfect ; as does also, though now blocked, the arch once giving upon the apse. Strange to say, the astonishing mis-

takes and misapplication of historic facts so long rampant with respect to the hall at Auckland, have, even for a longer period, and, if possible, in a still firmer and more persistent fashion found their exact parallel in connection with these infirmary remains at Ely. Through no fewer than six and twenty pages, Mr. Millers, the late painstaking and accomplished historian of the cathedral, following in the steps of his mentor, Dr. Bentham, labours to prove that this late Norman building is the original Saxon basilica erected by S. Etheldreda in the year 673 ! Every point connected either with the cathedral or itself, even its more refined and elaborate architecture, is held to substantiate and confirm this position. Never for a moment does he trouble himself with the consideration that, following all analogy, the Saxon and Norman churches occupied the same, and a wholly different, site from these infirmary buildings, which he never mentions otherwise than as the 'conventual church'; or that all his multitudinous quotations have reference to a structure, the last vestiges of which were improved off the face of the earth just a couple of centuries before the foundations of the building he describes were laid.



But Mr. Millers, it is only fair to say, wrote as far back as 1834, and architectural knowledge has advanced somewhat since then.

At Norwich, the remains of the infirmary occupy a site to the south of the refectory, which itself also lies, as usual, south of the cloisters.

It ranged east and west, and consisted, apparently, of a nave of six bays, extensive remains of which exist in two modern houses, while three pillars are still standing in the open space to the east of those houses. Their style, which is late Norman, shows that the building was probably the work of bishop John of Oxford, 1175-1200. In plan it consists, at the present time, of a nave ninety-two feet in length, by twenty-six feet in breadth, a south aisle ten feet in breadth, and piers having a diameter of four feet, the total breadth being, therefore, forty feet. What has become of the north aisle is uncertain. The chapel, which was of the same breadth as the nave, would appear, as some foundations seem to show, to have been about thirty-two feet long, and occupied the normal position towards the east. The great hall was restored in the Perpendicular style, when the existing aisle was cut up into separate apartments.

At Canterbury, the actual remains, though dating only from the middle of the fourteenth century, are known to have replaced a far earlier building, existing certainly in the time of king John, and probably from a yet earlier period. The following is the account given by Somner in his *Antiquities of Canterbury* (p. 197), published in 1640. After mentioning the various conjectures rife in his day respecting its origin and uses, all of which he shows to be wild and untenable, he proceeds—‘ Truth is, as there is an upper and a lower part of this building, so was each part a distinct structure by it self, and not one intire piece, the lower or Western part whereof was sometime a Hall, for the pulling down whereof there passed a decree in Chapter *anno* 1545, whence in the Division’ (that is the division of the monastic bnildings between the dean and prebendaries) ‘the very next yeare following it is called the late long Hall. And the upper or Eastern part of the building was this very Fermary or Infirmary-Chapell. The same Division calls it so, and that in regard it did sometime appertain and was appropriate to those of the Infirmary or Infirmitory (the *Nosocomium* I may call it) of the Minster situate by it, consisting chiefly of an Hall of Refectory, for their common board or table (if able and fit to come to it, otherwise feeding in their chambers) a kitchin to dresse their necessary provision in, a Dormitory or Dortor for their place of sleep and repose, distributed into certain distinct and severall chambers ; of which, that one might not disturb another, every of the infirme

folk had one proper to himself. And a private Chapell for their devotions, who either were sick and could not, or diseased and might not accompany their brethren in their more publick and common devotions in the Temple. Dr *Langworth* a late Predecessor of Dr *Blechynden* (as it is noted down in a Chapter book) anno 1579 took down a crosse wall between his house and Dr *Lawses* (a predecessor of Dr *Brayes*) at the Churches charge, and paved the way between them with the stone. In all likelihood it was the Western wall of this Chapell, or the wall which terminated the Chapell Westward, a cleare argument of the disjunction and separation thereof from that other lower part of building. The Infirmary hall or Refectory, which the Division calls the Table hall, yet stands perfect and intire, being the same which is now Dr *Blechyndens* hall to his prebendall house, built with other rooms (as I finde) about the yeare 1342. For out of Threasurers Accompts of the Church, in that and the next yeare following, I have these notes, viz. :—

Pro nova aula & una Camera de novo factis infirmar. 96 lib. 8^s 2^d præter 20 marcas receptas à Feretrario pro nova camera faciend.

Item pro novis cameris infirmar' & pentisiis circa aulam ibid' 61 lib. 1^s 6^d.

Item pro novo pentisio juxta novas cameras infirmar. 6 lib. 15^s 4^d ob.

This infirmary or *domus Infirmorum* I reade of in our Chronicles in King *Johns* time. For the Monks of this Church quitting the Monastery by command of the King sorely offended at them, for their choice of *Stephen Langton* for their Archbishop; 13 sick Monks which could not remove, were left behinde (saith my Author, Matt. Paris) *in domo Infirmorum.*

The actual remains, at present very slight, consist of parts of the aisle arcades built up in the walls of a house to the left of a narrow passage opening to the Prior's, or Green Court. They constitute that 'arched or embowed work of it,' the style of which led Somner, while declining to accept them as remains of the chapel of S. John built by archbishop Cuthbert in Saxon times, or yet of the church of S. Trinity built by archbishop Lanfranc, as some would have them to be, as nevertheless part of a 'building erected since the Conquest.'

From all which we see that the infirmary at Canterbury followed the normal plan, and consisted of a great aisled nave or hall, having a chapel attached, and which, in the nature of a chancel, opened more or less directly to it, towards the east.

At Gloucester, the infirmary buildings would seem to have been as wholly reconstructed during the thirteenth century, as they were at Canterbury in the fourteenth. All that I can at present say about them, however, is derived from the information furnished by Mr. Waller, the cathedral architect, in answer to certain questions addressed by me to the dean, to the effect that the great hall was, as usual, aisled, since six of its arches are still standing ; but, that the whole plan and dimensions could only be ascertained after very extensive and difficult exploration. Judging from its details, the rebuilding, he says, must have taken place *circa* 1240. Its predecessor, therefore, whose arrangement it probably, in the main, followed, would, like the church to which it belonged, date back, undoubtedly, into twelfth century Norman times.



The infirmary buildings at Peterborough must also, like those at Canterbury and Gloucester, have superseded others of earlier, and probably Norman, date. A slight sketch of them, here reproduced,

will serve to show their present state and architectural character. They lie eastward of the cathedral, 'built up into the walls of the prebendal houses, and are among the chief surviving relics of the monastic buildings.' Of fully developed Early English design, having been erected, or re-erected, during the abbacy of John de Caleto, 1248-1261, their details, though simple, are very fine, and deserving of close attention. The columns, it will be observed, are of a quatrefoil section, as at Auckland, while shafted corbels, carried up between the arches, served also, as in that instance, to carry the main timbers of the roof.

At Durham, the only great aisled hall of which we have any evidence, was that pertaining, not to the infirmary, but to the hospitium, and known as the 'Gest Hall.' In the *Rites and Monuments* (15 Surtees Society) we read : 'There was a famouse house of hospitallitie, called the GESTE HAULE, within the Abbey garth of Durham, on the weste syde, towards the water, the Terror of the house being master thereof, as one appoynted to geve intertaynment to all staitis, both noble, gentle, and what degree so ever that came thether as strangers, ther interteynment not being inferior to any place in Ingland, both for the goodnes of ther diett, the sweete and daintie furneture of there lodgings, and generally all things necessarie for travaillers. And, withall, this interteynment contynewing, not willing or commanding any man to departe, upon his honest and good behavyour. This haule is a goodly brave place, much like unto the body of a Church, with verey fair pillers supporting yt on ether syde, and in the mydest of the haule a most large ranng for the fyer. The chambers and lodginges belonging to yt weare swetly kept, and so richly furnyshed that they weare not unpleasant to ly in, especially one chamber called the KYNGS CHAMBER, deservinge that name, in that the King him selfe myght verie well have lyne in yt, for the princelynes therof. The victualls, that served the said geists, came from the same Kitching of the Prior, the bread and beare from his pantrie and seller. . . . The Terror had certaine men appointed to wayte at his table, and to attend upon all his geists and stranngers, and for ther better intertaynment, he had evermore a hogsheade or two of wyne lying in a seller appertayninge to the said halle, to serve his geists withall.' (p. 76.)

Following the infirmary halls (or, as at Durham, guesten hall) of

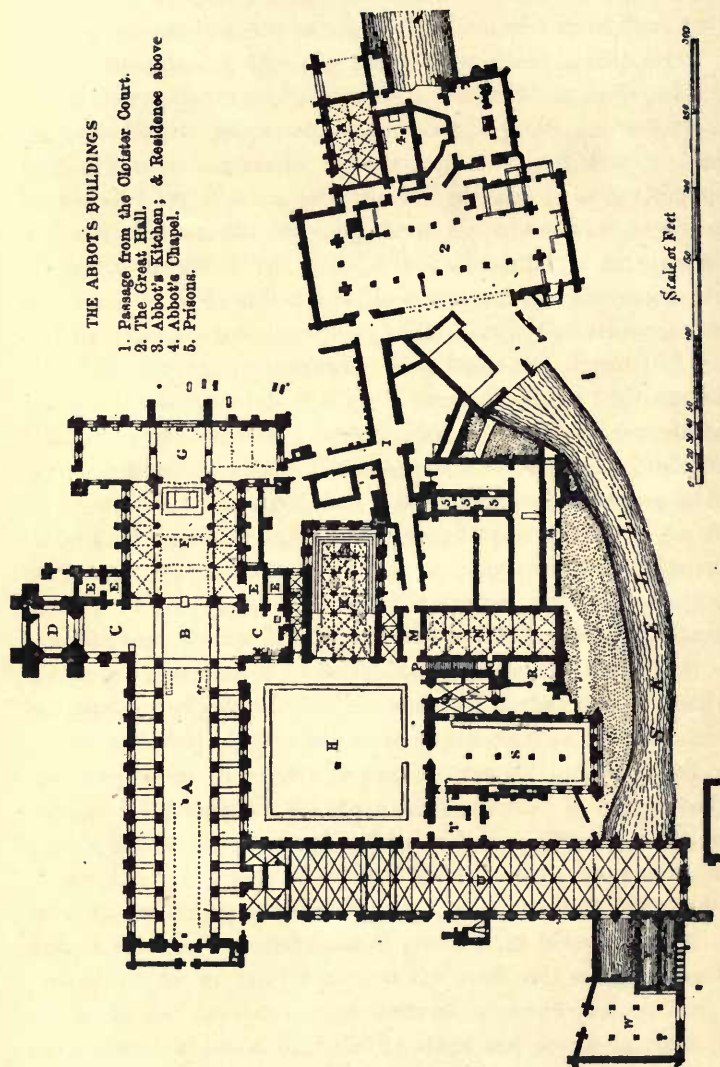
the cathedral monasteries, we come now to those of Fountains abbey. Both owe their existence to the magnificent taste of abbot John of Kent, the completer of the glorious choir and nine altars commenced by his predecessor, John, bishop of Ely, and who ruled from 1219 to 1247. Speaking of him, the short chronicle of abbots says : 'Hic novem altaria, claustrum, infirmitorium, Pavimentum, ac Xenodochium, tam ad Christi pauperum, quam mundi principum susceptionem fabricavit, et consummavit.' Of the group of ruined buildings forming the *xenodochium*, it is not now possible, perhaps, to assign the respective uses with absolute certainty, or to say which was the infirmary, and which the guest, hall. Nor is it at all needful for our present purpose to do so, as in either case its design remains the same. In his very careful and exact description of the abbey (*Collectanea Archaeologica* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. ii. part iii.) the late Mr. Gordon Hills speaks of it as 'a large hall placed north and south, built like a church, with a nave divided by arcades of four arches on each side from its aisles. The bases of the columns are all that remain of the arcades. The river Skell passes under the hall by four arches or tunnels, all remaining in their original and perfect state.' An almost exact square of about sixty feet, the building formed the easternmost member of the group to which it pertained, and, somewhat apart from the rest, stood a little to the west of that great range containing the *domus conversorum*, cellarage and abbot's chambers over, which ran beyond, and parallel with, the west walk of the cloisters, southward.

But infinitely grander and more important than that pertaining to the *xenodochium*, as became its purpose, was the infirmary hall which John of Kent built for the use of his brethren. It was probably the most splendid structure of the kind either in England or elsewhere. 'The abbot John,' says Mr. Hills, 'had certainly forgotten the moderation in building prescribed by the Cistercian rule. His infirmary was planned on the same scale of grandeur as his other works. The ground was too limited for him on the north side of the River Skell, and as he had done at the *xenodochium*, so again here he conquered the obstacles of space, by building above and across the river. The passage for the river is preserved by four still perfect parallel tunnels, elbow-shaped or bent in plan, between two hundred and thirty and two hundred and eighty feet long, about nine feet wide, with



PLAN OF FORTRESS NO. 1

TO CORNELIUS BATTALION



THE ABBOTS BUILDINGS

1. Passage from the Cloister Court.
2. The Great Hall.
3. Abbot's Kitchen; & Residence above
4. Abbot's Chapel.
5. Prisons.

PLAN OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

abutments six feet thick between them. Upon and athwart this sub-structure, and carefully designed, so that the pillars and principal walls should not stand on the arches, but on the solid abutments below, was placed a vast hall and its appurtenances. The hall is one hundred and seventy and a half feet long, and seventy feet wide within the walls. In the centre portion it was formed like the nave of a church, with aisles all round it; the nave having eight arches on each side, and two at each end. Of this great hall, or of any of its adjuncts above the level of the tunnels, the walls are now scarcely breast high in any part. At the south end of the hall, two of the pillars are still standing, or rather, I believe, have to some extent been put together from the fragments found around. Abundant fragments show the work to have been of exquisite architecture. The pillars were each formed of groups of shafts, the centre shaft of sandstone, thirteen inches diameter, with four marble shafts attached; the base mouldings, the marble band which unites the shafts midway, and the marble capitals, are all treated with admirable delicacy and propriety; and though there is here (as elsewhere at Fountains) little use made of carving, yet we cannot fail to gather that the effect when complete, must have been finished to perfection. There should be noticed the provision of fire-places at the ends of the hall, and one standing detached in its eastern aisle, and the little single latrine outside both the aisles near their southern extremities. Of the buildings east of the hall, the south portion is separated from it by a court twenty feet wide; this consists of two attached parallel apartments forty-nine and a half feet long, evidently applied to culinary purposes. There is a large fireplace close by it, an oven in the partition wall, the furnace place of a large boiler in the east end, and close to it, in the north-east angle, a stone grating, ingeniously constructed in the floor, and through the tunnel arch under it. The grating is eight feet by six feet, and intended for the emptying, draining, and drying upon it of casks or tubs, and such utensils. On the north of this building, and separated from it by a court twenty-one feet wide, is the infirmary chapel, forty-six feet three inches long, by twenty-one feet nine inches wide. At its east end stands the lower part of an altar.'

We have thus, as will readily be seen, only on an unusually splendid scale, the type, not merely of the secular aisled halls, but of

the special kitchens and other dependent offices which pertained to them as well. The pattern was at once immediately to hand, and perfect in every part.

That aisled halls, of a kind, however, were in use in very early times is probably true enough. If only the MS. illustrations may be trusted, some few of the Anglo-Saxon hall-houses, at any rate, would seem to have been built on this principle, and to have exhibited in a modified way, and with a wooden construction, the basilican arrangement found in the naves of the larger parish churches. But these erections were, by comparison, mean and temporary, and altogether lacking in those solid and monumental qualities which, lending as they do, such dignity to those of later date, lift them directly from the level of cheap utilitarianism to that of architectural art. Not but that such structures, as was only natural where timber was both good and plentiful, continued in use, as well for barns as for more purely domestic purposes, down to the latest times. Instances of both sorts in abundance—such as those of Nurstead court,⁸ the Guildhall at York, and the magnificent tithe barn at Harmondsworth, Middlesex, still survive to witness to the fact. But all these, and others such like, differ, it will be observed, not only in material, but in structural principle as well, from the infirmary halls above referred to. In the one case the principal timbers were framed into, and became one with, their supports; in the other, they were quite distinct and separate; and instead of the roofs being any longer brought down, practically and materially, to the ground, they became entirely cut off from it, being borne up by walls and arcades of stone, on which solid and rock-like foundations they were simply set.

Neither from the wooden halls of primitive or contemporary times, then, nor yet, indirectly, from the arcaded naves of the churches, but rather directly and immediately from these infirmary halls—buildings

⁸ The hall of Nurstead Court in Kent, of which two good views, external and internal, are given by Parker (*Domestic Architecture*, ii. 281-282) from drawings by Blore, has since been either wantonly destroyed or so altered as to have entirely lost its value. Its dimensions (external) were seventy-nine feet by thirty-four feet nine inches; and its date, of the first half of the fourteenth century. Though, doubtless, there must once have been many others of the like kind, its destruction is the more to be regretted that both design and workmanship were of the best; and it was perhaps, if not probably, the last surviving relic of such an early age.

which were in all respects so thoroughly adapted to the purpose—may we reasonably suppose the great aisled halls, whether of castles or manor-houses, to have been derived.

IV.

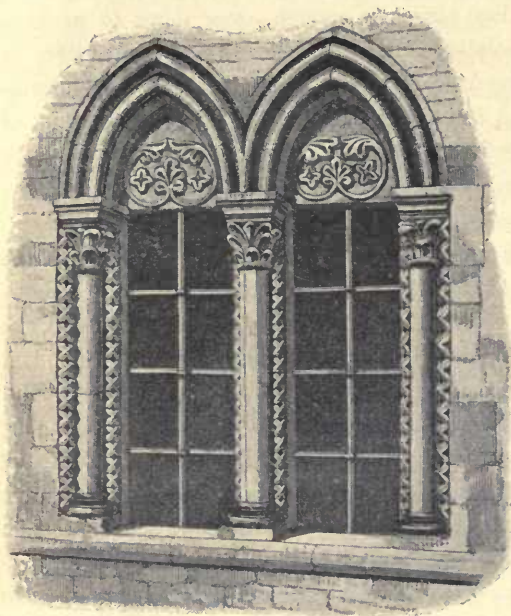
Of the four existing secular aisled halls, the earliest and smallest is that at Oakham. Sole remaining fragment of the castle of which it once formed part, it has, curiously enough, come down to us in a condition almost absolutely intact. Hence its special value, as showing, at least approximately, what that at Auckland must originally have been like. A full and excellently well illustrated account of it (to which I would refer my readers) may be seen in vol. v. of the *Archaeological Journal*, as well as in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 28-31.

The hall is said to have been built by Walkelyn de Ferrers, who held the barony from 1161 to 1201; and, as internal evidence shows that its date must be referred to a period lying *inter* 1180-1186, the traditional account is, no doubt, correct. Like that at Auckland, it runs east and west; and its masonry is of rubble, with ashlar quoins and dressings. The internal dimensions are sixty-five feet long by forty-three feet wide; and the aisles, again like those at Auckland, are separated from the central nave by arcades of four arches on each side. These, however, are round in form and simple in section, though the capitals of the pillars which carry them are enriched with remarkably fine foliage, close copies, indeed, of those of William of Sens in the choir of Canterbury cathedral (*inter* 1174-1179), and not improbably cut by the same man.

Again, as at Auckland, the principal entrance was originally towards the east end of the south aisle, near the kitchen and offices.

Owing to the steep pitch of the roofs, and their consequent want of height, the side walls were entirely without buttresses; a pair of very slight projection only, as also at Auckland, being applied at the east end to receive the thrust of the arcades. Four windows lighted the hall on either side; together with another set high up in the eastern gable above the line of the adjoining roofs. These side windows, which from their exceptionally early date and architectural character are of the utmost interest, serve also to show us pretty

clearly what the type of the original ones at Auckland must, most probably, have been. As in Pudsey's aisle-windows in Darlington church,⁹ they are seen to consist of two coupled lancets, but, unlike them, to be richly adorned with shafts and dogtooth, and, as became their domestic character, having the heads of their arches, which are much enriched with sculpture, blank, thus leaving the actual openings



SIDE WINDOWS, OAKHAM HALL (Exterior).

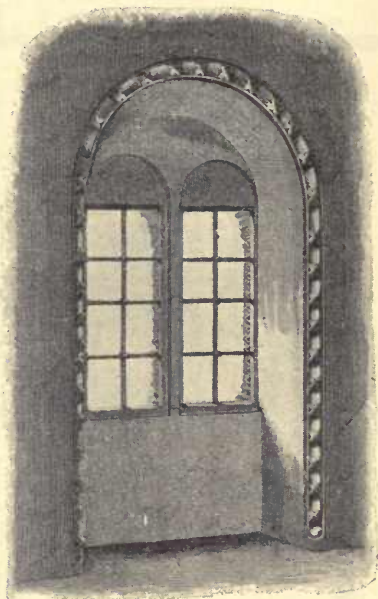
square-headed. Internally, these windows are enclosed in semi-circular arches, the jambs of which come straight down to the ground. Both jambs and arches are enriched continuously along their edges with a very effective hollow moulding studded with four-leaved flowers, as is also the narrow outer order of the arcades, which, as in the case of the great crossing arches at Darlington, where

a somewhat similar feature occurs, produces the exact appearance of a hood-mould.

As also at Auckland, the whole of the attached buildings are destroyed ; but, though the woodwork of the roofs is modern, the pitch of them, both of the nave and aisles, has been preserved, and the gables are still surmounted by their ancient terminals of figures. The roofs though practically, are not actually, continuous, a slight intervening strip of wall, which just serves to break the line, being allowed to appear between the two. Whether such a feature ever occurred in

⁹ The sills of one of these pairs of lancets may still be detected in the masonry of the south side of the nave, not far from the west end.

Pudsey's hall or not cannot now, perhaps, positively be said.¹⁰ One difference of arrangement in the interior construction may, however, be mentioned, which is that, in the case of Oakham, the main timbers were brought down to the springing line of the arches, where they were received on corbels consisting of seated figures playing on instruments of music, admirably designed. At Auckland, on the other hand, they were received on shafted corbels, the beautifully carved capitals of which reached as high as the intrados of the arches. As the latter were not only pointed, but of quite exceptional height and span, the difference of arrangement must have been wholly an improvement as giving a vastly increased appearance both of height and space. Still, smaller in scale, and less generally imposing in effect as the Oakham hall must always have been, no such precious example of the domestic architecture of its period—a full decade earlier than that at Auckland, the next in date—remains, while both in the beauty and originality of its sculpture it stands alone.

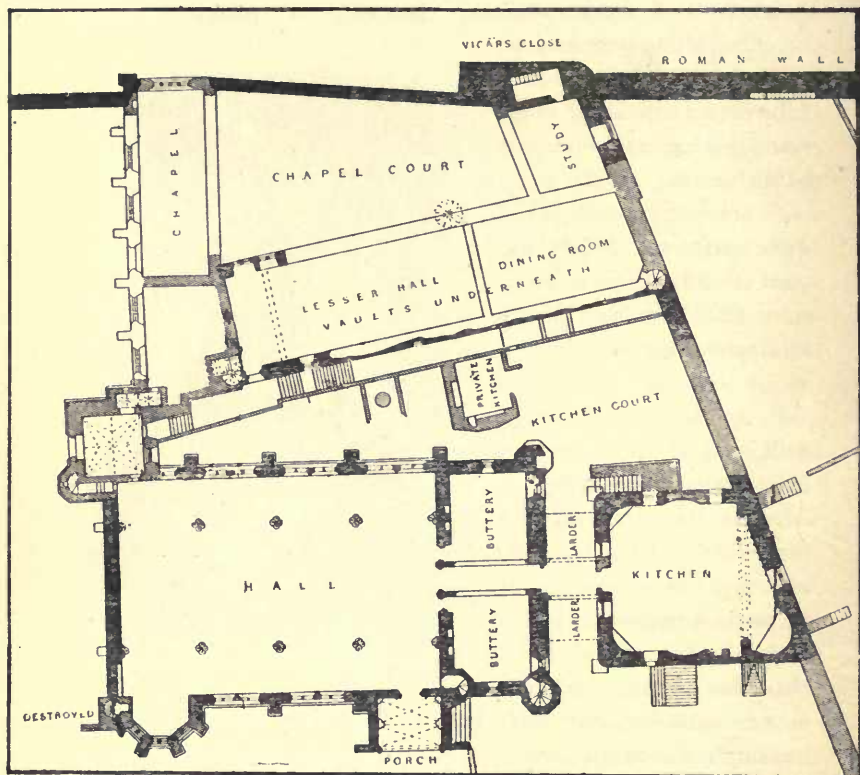


SIDE WINDOWS, OAKHAM HALL (Interior).

Next, but most ruinous of all, is that of the episcopal palace at Lincoln. It is, however, the most perfect as regards the remains of its necessary adjuncts, the kitchen, pantry, buttery, and larders. They still form, as they did probably from the first, the noblest,

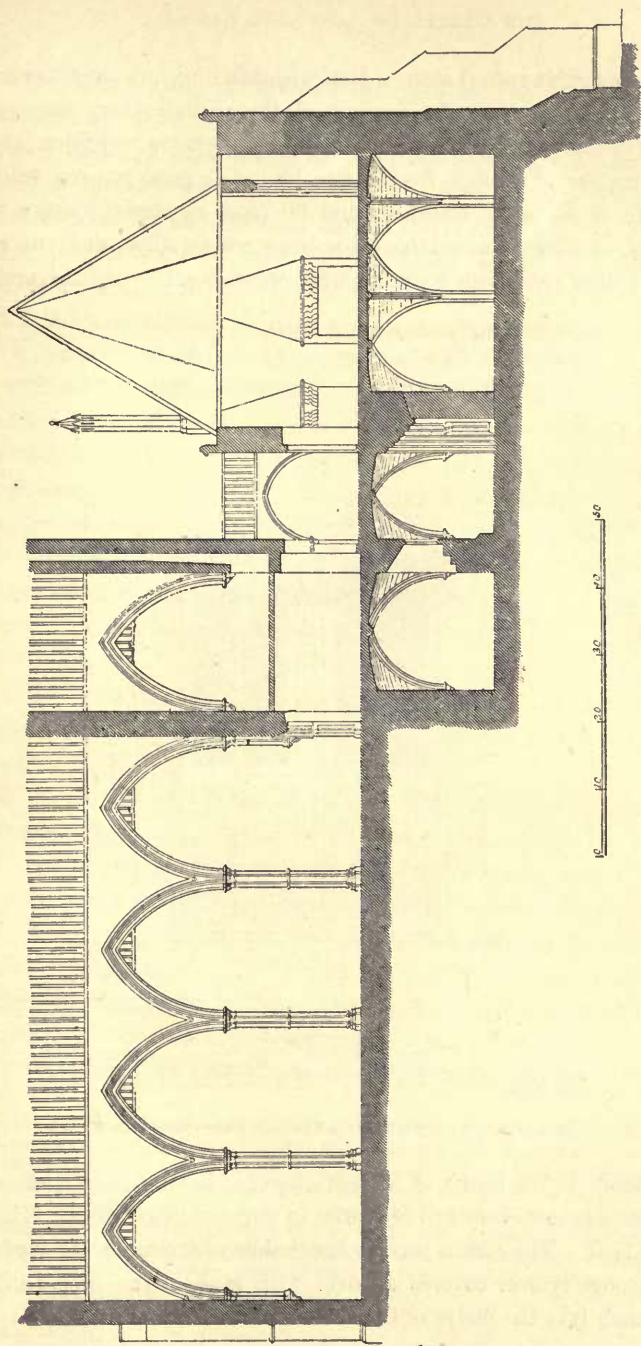
¹⁰ It is pretty certain, however, that no break of any kind occurred. If the position of the corbels towards the central and side aisles be taken into account, it will be seen that while the former are in a line with the points of the intrados of the arches the latter are set but a little above their springing; and that if the outline of an unbroken high-pitched roof be drawn transversely, the inner corbels would be exactly adapted to the support of the arched braces of the principals of the central part, while the outer ones would be just as exactly fitted to receive the struts of the ends covering the aisles.

completest, and most imposing group of early thirteenth-century domestic buildings in the land, and deserve, consequently, the closest attention. As the accompanying plan will show, they formed by far the most important section of that group of buildings of different styles and dates which went to make up the ancient palace. They are



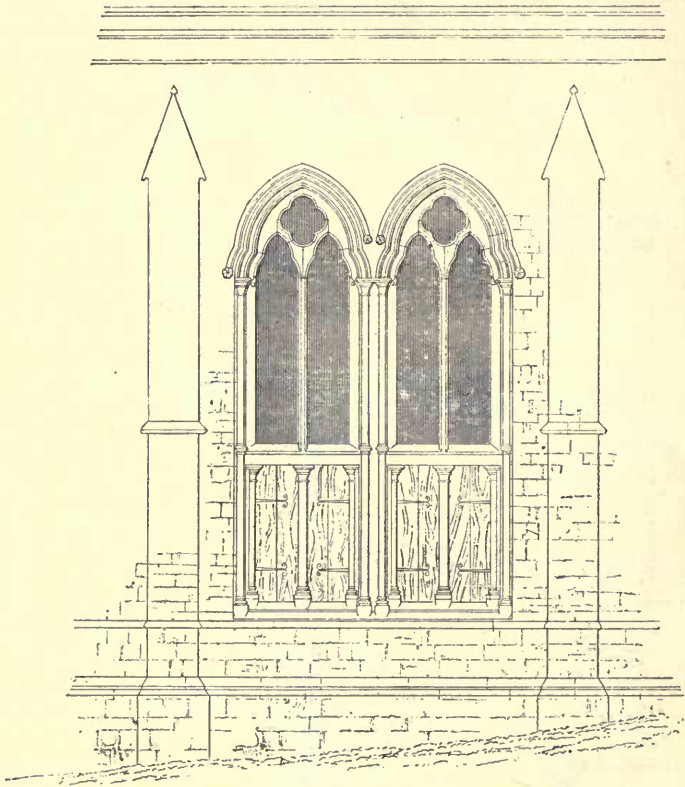
Plan of Lincoln Palace, shewing the relative proportion of the great, and ordinary, Halls, and their respective kitchens

also the most ancient, having been commenced by S. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln from 1185 to 1200, and completed at great cost by his successor, bishop Hugh of Wells, who ruled from that time till 1234. Plundered and devastated during the Civil War, these noble buildings continued in a state of peaceful ruin till 1726, when bishop Reynolds most unhappily gave leave to the dean and chapter to utilize them as a quarry for works then proceeding at the cathedral. Hence their



LINCOLN PALACE. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF GREAT HALL, KITCHEN AND DEPENDENT OFFICES.

present miserably ruined state. Notwithstanding, how they appeared in 1647, we learn from the account of the parliamentary surveyors written in that year—‘The Greate Hall,’ say they, ‘is very faire, large, lightsome, and of stronge freestone buildinge, in good repaire, beinge 60 foote of Assise in breadthe, and 90 foote of Assise longe ; the forme of buildinge consisteth of one large middle allye, and two out lles on eyther syde, with 8 gray marble pillars bearinge up the arches



SIDE WINDOWS, GREAT HALL, LINCOLN (restored elevation).

of freestone in the forme of a large church, having large and faire freestone windows very full of stories in paynted glasse of the Kinges of this land. The fyre is used in the middle of the hall ; the rooffe of very stronge tymber covered all over with leade. The proporcon of yt is much lyke the bodye of Christe-church in London.’

The accompanying illustrations will give as good an idea as their small scale will allow of the completeness and perfection of these fine works as a whole; while the elevation of the pairs of windows which lighted it in each bay, restored carefully from existing fragments, will show how rich and effective, though at the same time thoroughly domestic, those features were. Thus, while the upper parts were permanently glazed, the lower, as usual at the time, are seen to have been fitted with wooden shutters, a system adopted, perhaps, for the double purposes of light and ventilation. As at Oakham and also at Auckland the interior of this hall was divided longitudinally into four bays. A fifth, in all respects similar to them, but cut off by a solid wall, was utilized on the floor line for the pantry, buttery, and central passage leading to the kitchen; while above was a spacious room, probably the great chamber, having two tall windows in the south front with a fireplace between them, and two other windows at the east and west ends. An arrangement precisely similar is also found in the magnificent hall of the episcopal palace at Wells, built by bishop Burnell (1274-1292), which is of five bays, and where the great chamber was placed over the pantries and central passage-way to the kitchen, which, as at Lincoln, was an entirely separate erection.¹¹

Of the six (not eight) pillars of dark grey marble which carried the arcades, only some fragments of the bases and capitals have been found, but these show that each column consisted of a central pillar with four smaller and four larger round shafts attached to it; the whole height being about twenty feet, and divided into two parts, as at Auckland, by a central band. The kitchen had five fireplaces; and the roof, covered with lead, rose, like that of the chapter house, to a great height in the centre, in the form of an octagonal pyramid. As a typical example of a great aisled hall with all its subsidiary offices complete, this of

¹¹ At Wells the interior arrangements of the hall are unfortunately so completely destroyed that it is impossible to say exactly what they were. No traces whatever of any pillars are to be seen; and the two end walls where indications of the arcades, if any such existed, would be found, are gone. Whether, therefore, the roof, which was too wide to have been constructed in one span, was supported by pillars and arches of wood or stone, cannot be said. Mr. Parker, with characteristic inaccuracy, gives the dimensions as one hundred and twenty feet long by seventy feet wide, whereas they are really one hundred and fifteen feet by fifty-nine feet and a half internally.

Lincoln is by far the most perfect that remains, and its special value lies in this, that it serves to show, more or less exactly, what those, now destroyed, of all the rest must formerly have been.

In connection with this greater, and earlier, hall at Lincoln must be taken into account also that smaller, and later, one built by S. Hugh's illustrious successor, the world-renowned Grostête at Buckden in Huntingdonshire, where he died in 1253.

This hall, which was wholly destroyed by fire during the Commonwealth days, resembled that at Lincoln by being divided into a central and two side aisles by pillars and arches, and having a large porch at the entrance vaulted with stone. It was, however, on a much smaller scale, being only, according to the parliamentary survey of 1647, 'twenty yards long and twelve yards broad, about half covered with lead, the rest with stone slat.' And it is interesting to observe that this also was of the early part of the thirteenth century, and thus, more or less contemporary with the rest of the same very limited class whose former, or present, existence is known to us.

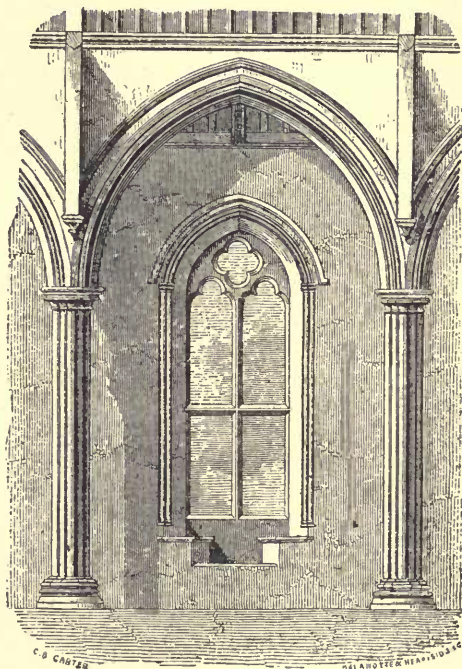
But, most important of all these halls, whether past or present, in point of size as well as preservation, is that still in use in the royal castle of Winchester, built by king Henry III. 'of Winchester' for the greater glory of the place in one of whose chambers he was born in 1206. The first in the series of writs respecting it dates from 1222, in which year charges for drawing stone for the columns of the hall occur. Ten years later the bishop of Winchester is directed to apply the moneys derived from the underwood of the forest of Bere to the making of the great hall of the king in the castle of Winchester.

In 1234, a new kitchen, buttery, and 'dispensa' were also erected, not, however, on the normal system, that is to say, with the kitchen beyond and in line with the hall, and the pantry and buttery with the passage of communication connecting the two between them, but with the kitchen to the south and the other offices to the north; while in the year following the hall was so far completed that the capitals of the pillars and the wooden 'botilli' in the beams of the roof were then gilt; the walls whitened and painted; and 'verrinae,' or glazed frames made for the windows; a seat also being placed for the king at the head of the hall 'versus orientem.' The whole of

these works, we learn, as well as many others in the castle, were carried out from the designs, and under the superintendence of, Master Elias de Dereham.

The hall itself was one hundred and eleven feet three inches in length by fifty-five feet nine inches in breadth, internally, and divided on either side into five bays. A small triplet was inserted in the point of the east gable; there were four windows in each of the

lateral walls, and, opposite each other in the second bays from the west, north and south doorways, exactly as in a church. As at Auckland, though to a much less extent, the eastern and western bays were somewhat wider than the rest. The accompanying illustration will show how admirably proportioned and refined the whole of the architectural details are; while, the window openings, not terminating at the line of the glass, but continued down to the ground and provided



WINCHESTER CASTLE. ONE BAY OF HALL, SHEWING WINDOW WITH SEAT.

with stone seats, declare the purely secular and domestic character of the building at a glance. Notwithstanding these arrangements, however, and the fact of its having all along from the first been known as the king's hall, and secular business transacted in it, the late learned historian of Winchester, Dr. Milner, came, from its division into nave and aisles, as well as the fact, perhaps, of its standing east and west, to the conclusion that it had originally been a chapel; and, strong in this misplaced confidence, attacked the

county magistrates of Hampshire with much violence for sacrilegiously turning God's house into a court of justice. And curiously enough, precisely the same mistaken impression prevailed with respect to the last of these four halls—that at Auckland. Till quite recently, it was universally believed to have been the ancient chapel of the manor-house from the beginning; notwithstanding the indisputable fact that such chapel, or chapels—for it was, as often happened in domestic chapels, a double one—occupied not only an entirely different site, but was destroyed by gunpowder in the time of the Commonwealth. But then, it was divided into a nave and aisles 'like a church,' and not only so, but it stood east and west; circumstances which, taken together, appeared, in spite of all historical evidences, to the contrary, as conclusive proof of its true ecclesiastical character to the local antiquaries, as a similar combination did at Winchester, to the friends of Dr. Milner.¹²

¹² It is not a little curious to note for what a length of time, and how frequently, in their descriptions of aisled halls, the same idea has presented itself to, and been expressed in the same or similar terms by, divers writers. Thus, in the Rites of Durham (1690) the guest hall there is described as being 'a goodly brave place, much like unto the body of a church, with very fair pillars supporting yt on ether syde.' Again in 1647, the parliamentary surveyors describe the great hall of Lincoln palace as consisting 'of one large middle alleye and two out lles on eyther syde . . . in the forme of a large church;' adding afterwards the remark that—'The proporcon of yt is much lyke the bodye of Christe-church in London.' At Canterbury, Somner, writing in 1640, tells us how the arched remains of the infirmary hall were, doubtless for the same reason, regarded by some as the *chapel of S. John*; by others, as the *church of S. Trinitie*, built by Lanfranc; and by others again as the *church of S. Saviour*; and a similar mistake might seem to be also made by the late Mr. R. J. King, in Murray's *Cathedrals*, who speaks of 'the *infirmary* with its *church*, the arches of which may be traced in the walls of the houses.' The arches, however, as need hardly be said, were those of the hall and not of the chapel. So, too, Mr. Parker (*Domestic Architecture*, ii. 250) speaks of John de Calceto as the builder of 'the beautiful infirmary *church* at Peterborough,' whereas the remains referred to are not those of the church or chapel at all, but of the hall. At Westminster, again, the slight remains of the arcades of the infirmary hall are in a similar way, still pointed out, and figured upon plans, as the *chapel of S. Catherine*. At Winchester, the great hall of the castle, owing as well to its standing east and west, as to the presence of aisles, was confidently asserted by the late historian of the city, Dr. Milner, as well as by his predecessors, Warton and Grose, not merely to resemble, but beyond all doubt to be, the *chapel of S. Stephen*, and built by the king of that name. And so, too, at Ely, the historian of the cathedral, Dr. Bentham, and his successor, Mr. Millers, the author of an excellent but briefer account of it, have no hesitation whatever in asserting as an indisputable fact that the infirmary hall was the nave of the *conventual church* founded by S. Etheldreda in 673! And then, lastly, we have the late Mr. Gordon Hills, in his admirable account of Fountains abbey, though knowing perfectly well its real purpose, which he takes the fullest account of, describing the great hall, in the old familiar fashion as being *like the nave of a church*. It

What its true purport was, what the scheme of which it formed part, and who the founder under whom, and by whose command, the whole was planned, we have now to consider.

V.

Of historical witness we have simply none, and in such default are therefore obliged to fall back exclusively on the internal evidence of architectural style. But this is quite sufficient for the purpose, if not, indeed, of accounting for the completion of the works, yet, at any rate, of fixing the period of their commencement. Of this there cannot, happily, be a shadow of a doubt; and it adds no little to the sufficiently great interest of the place, even when regarded separately and *per se*, to find that not merely was its inception, but its actual erection also largely, if not wholly, due to the same great prelate who, besides building or restoring the two halls of Durham castle, the Galilee chapel of the cathedral, and founding the hospital of Sherburn, built also S. Cuthbert's church at Darlington—the famous and renowned Hugh Pudsey.



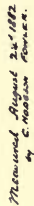
Whether the entire remains can be referred to his days or not, and if not, how much of them, are points to be determined only after the most careful examination. Unfortunately nothing more than the

may not, perhaps, be amiss to note how conclusively, if indirectly, this sustained *simile* points to the real rarity of aisled halls of any kind. Had the fact, as sometimes asserted, been otherwise, such constant comparison of them with, and positive assertions—founded solely on the strength of such likeness—that they were, and must have been, churches, would be altogether unintelligible.

shell of the hall itself is left us, and this, though absolutely perfect as regards its more central parts, the arcades and the walling over them, has been greatly altered on the exterior, the northern wall having been much tampered with and raised, and the southern one utterly destroyed and rebuilt in a different style during the seventeenth century. Thus, besides the loss of all the details proper to those parts, that is to say the whole of the original windows, doorways, and buttresses, we are left without any evidence whatever as regards those other necessary adjuncts, the kitchen, pantry, and buttery, which were attached to it, and formed integral parts of the general scheme. All that can be said of these last is that, as at Chepstow and Coventry, they occupied a somewhat lower level than the hall itself, and lay beyond it eastwards. They were thus, as will be seen, quite separate from the body of the manor-house with which they may be said to have had no connection, being proper to the uses of the hall to which they belonged, and for which alone they were built.¹³ A flat flagged

¹³ This was a far from uncommon arrangement. It occurs among other instances, for example, in the Bishop's palace at Lincoln, where the two halls, the greater and the less, with their several kitchens respectively proportioned, may still be seen. Also at Bolton castle, where the two halls, the greater on the north side of the quadrangle, and the less on the south, with their respective kitchens and other attendant offices remain. At Winchester castle, again, there were also two halls and kitchens. The older and smaller hall and kitchen were those which the sheriff of Hampshire was ordered in 1220 to prepare, along with the painted chamber and other offices, for the king's reception at Christmas. The great hall, '*magna aula*' or '*aula infra ballium*,' as it is termed, is that still standing, which, together with its kitchen, called in 1238 the '*greater kitchen*,' buttery and dispensa, erected in connection with it on the north and south sides, were commenced in 1222. At Chepstow a similar arrangement occurs. There also are two halls, a smaller one with the usual two doorways at the lower end leading to the pantry and buttery, and a central one to a straight flight of steep stone steps down to the kitchen, which, with other offices, was on a much lower level. This is situated in the outer court. The great hall is in the inner court, its upper end having apparently been appropriated as a chapel or sanctuary, which was separated from the hall by a richly ornamented broad stone screen or gallery like a rood-loft, while the lower end was occupied, as usual, by the screens which connected it with the dependent offices.

Kidwelly castle, Caermarthenshire, affords another example in which the evidences of this arrangement, so frequently destroyed, still remain distinct. The original castle, probably of the time of Edward I., consisted chiefly of what is now the inner court or keep, an oblong block of building with a small courtyard in the centre. In this are the great hall with its proper kitchen, chapel, etc. This inner castle was enclosed by a wall of enceinte with two gatehouses north and south, the former the principal one, and of the original work. The south gatehouse, which is of the fifteenth century, and a very fine structure, formed a distinct house in itself, having, besides many smaller and dependent apartments, its own hall, kitchen, and offices; the former, a grand room forty feet long and seventeen feet wide, being placed above the gateway.



platform, nine and a half feet in height, and approached by two flights of steps, marks, at present, without defining the extent of, their site.¹⁴

As to the hall itself, though not the largest, it was, perhaps, in regard to the freedom and boldness of its parts, the finest, of its class. Vaster than that of Oakham, richer in its details than those of Winchester or Lincoln, it differs from both the latter examples in the variety of the design of the columns, as well as proportion of the

One of the earliest as well as finest examples, however, is found in the episcopal palace at Wells, a building, or rather group of buildings, of unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, interest. The earlier block or palace, complete in itself, is that forming the north-easternmost part of the present structure, and built by bishop Joceline between 1205 and 1244. It is of the richest and most beautiful Early English work imaginable, built for the most part upon a uniform range of vaulted and groined lower chambers, and with all the chief rooms upon the first floor. Among these were the hall; the kitchen, with the pantry, etc., being on a lower level, and in an adjoining block.

The great hall, a magnificent structure, far larger than all the chief buildings of bishop Joceline's palace put together, was built by bishop Burnell (1274-1292) *circa* 1280. It was no less than one hundred and fifteen feet in length by fifty-nine and a half in breadth, and had, like the earlier one, all its dependent offices of solar, pantry, buttery and kitchen complete. The former were, as usual, beneath the solar at the west end, but the kitchen, now destroyed, was a separate building, and connected with the hall by a covered passage way.

And such would seem generally, where these great halls were attached either to castles or manor-houses, to have been the case.

At St. David's, the magnificent palace, built by bishop Gower about the middle of the fourteenth century, shows an ingenious and somewhat different arrangement. It is all of one date, and of extreme magnificence; the principal buildings, which are of the same height, occupying the southern and eastern sides of a large quadrangle. The southern range contains the great hall, with a solar at the west end. The eastern, the smaller hall, with a large kitchen or kitchens at its southern extremity, which, occupying the angle between it and the end of the great hall, would therefore, in this case, probably, be common to both.

¹⁴ In the wall supporting this platform towards the east, two large stones are inserted bearing the following inscriptions in Roman capitals. To what particular work the first and most important of them—erected originally by the famous bishop Butler (1750-52)—refers, cannot now, I think, be said:—

IOSEPHVS EPISCOPVS
EECIT [*sic*] ANNO DOM : MDCCLII.

HOC MAGNI ANTECESSORIS MONVMENTVM
IN CORTE EX RVDERIBVS ERVTVM
HIC INSERENDVM CVRAVIT
COGNOMINIS ALTER EPISCOPVS
A.D. MDDCCCLXXXI.

arches of its arcades. There the bays are all either actually, or practically, alike. Here it is otherwise ; the two extreme ones at either end, though harmonizing perfectly with those towards the centre, being of very perceptibly wider span. Nothing finer than the general justness, unity, and variety of effect, however, could possibly be conceived. That there were other than artistic reasons for such treatment—which from a purely structural standpoint is, of course, the reverse of what it should be—is probable ; though what those reasons precisely were, it may not, perhaps, now be possible to say. But the east, or lower end, was, it will be remembered, the kitchen end, and consequently the eastern bays, which would contain the screens with the music gallery over, might receive an extra width on that account. And then, as the other, or west end, would be that of the dais, or high table, its dimensions also might, quite possibly, not only be increased to the like extent for that reason, but, as we see, still further extended along the floor line, by having the western responds stopped short upon corbels and not continued down to the ground like those eastwards. Certainly its details are of a distinctly different, and far richer kind, and point to its more dignified uses in a way there is no mistaking. But the arrangement and details of the several parts prove something more than this, from which all manner of doubt or conjecture is excluded, and that is that *the entire plan was not only laid out, but strenuously proceeded with throughout its whole extent till its completion*, from the very first.

VI.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of its architecture, however, it may be desirable to take account of the original chapel or chapels, with which this, the original great hall, has so long been confounded. Till quite recently, and through sheer default of due investigation, it was universally assumed to be such chapel ; and that in spite of the most direct and positive witness of those who had for years seen and known it in its integrity, to the contrary. Nay, so complete was the prevailing ignorance and misunderstanding, that we find the late learned antiquary, Dr. Raine, in his admirable *History of Auckland Castle*, not merely repeating and lending all the weight of his great authority to it, but thereupon proceeding, out of his own

mouth, to convict bishop Cosin, of being something worse than a mere braggart—a wilful and deliberate liar. And this, let me add, in the sincerest and most absolute good faith—with the irrefragable record of the fabric itself, as he imagined, on the one hand, and the bishop's own handwriting, in flat contradiction to it, on the other.

What, however—to such, at least, as are willing to attend to them—can possibly be clearer, fuller, or more harmonious than the structural and written evidence of the case? Let us see what they have to tell us.

First of all then, we learn that there was certainly a chapel in the episcopal manor-house at Auckland in the year 1271 (*temp.* bishop Stichell), as had doubtless been the case from the beginning. Next, since this was probably of the original building, and of small and simple character, we find from an account roll of 1308, that bishop Beck, among his other works of rebuilding there, expended on the erection of a new chapel in that year £148, a sum equivalent, probably, to nearly £3,000 of our money. Afterwards, in 1338, two chapels are spoken of, the *major* and the *minor*, which, as we learn at a later date still, viz., in 1547, stood one above the other. In other words, that this chapel built by Beck, was, as usual with those of its class, in two storeys, and could thus with equal propriety be spoken of as one chapel or two, according to circumstances. Furthermore, that this double chapel continued to be used for divine service down to the days of bishop Morton (1632–1659), Dr. Basire telling us that he himself had officiated in it as chaplain for years: while sir William Brereton, speaking of the same ‘two Chapels one over the other,’ describes the higher as ‘a most dainty, neat, light, pleasant place, but the voice so drowned and swallowed by the echo, as few words can be understood.’

After this, from Dugdale's Appendix to his *History of St. Paul's*, that this double, or two-storied chapel stood on the south side of the castle.

And then, finally, on the unimpeachable authority not only of Dr. Basire but of Smith, the biographer of bishop Cosin, that after the transfer of the castle by the parliamentary commissioners to sir Arthur Haslerigg, these chapels were blown up by him with gunpowder, and their materials re-used in the construction of a newly-built mansion house. From all which it clearly appears:—

Firstly, that the present chapel could have nothing whatever to do with that erected by Beck ; its general design, composed of arcades and aisles, at once precluding all idea of such a plan ; while the shafted corbels between the arches, designed to receive the principals of the original high-pitched roof, prove just as conclusively that no upper storey ever *could* have existed there.

Secondly, that independently of any such considerations, the present chapel occupies an entirely different site, lying as it does to the north, while the original one was to the south, of the castle ; and

Thirdly, that wherever that chapel stood, it was, beyond all contradiction, destroyed in the seventeenth century, while the present one remains, as to its ancient features, practically entire and undisturbed.

Yet, strange to say, all these indisputable circumstances notwithstanding, Dr. Raine persisted in identifying the two. Nay more, we find him even holding the existing building to be that mentioned in 1271, and which, since its architecture is of a period manifestly anterior to that of Beck, he imagines that prelate not to have taken down and rebuilt, but only to have enlarged and beautified. And this, so far at least as its more ancient parts are concerned, he supposes to have formed the major, or lower chapel ; the minor, or upper one having occupied that portion of the fabric now converted into bedrooms immediately above, or west of, the present porch of the lower chapel.

But such a supposition, it is clear, proceeds, and could only proceed, from an entire misconception of the nature of this class of buildings. A brief reference to the subject, therefore, may not be out of place, seeing it is one, generally speaking, but little understood, and in which the arrangements varied considerably.

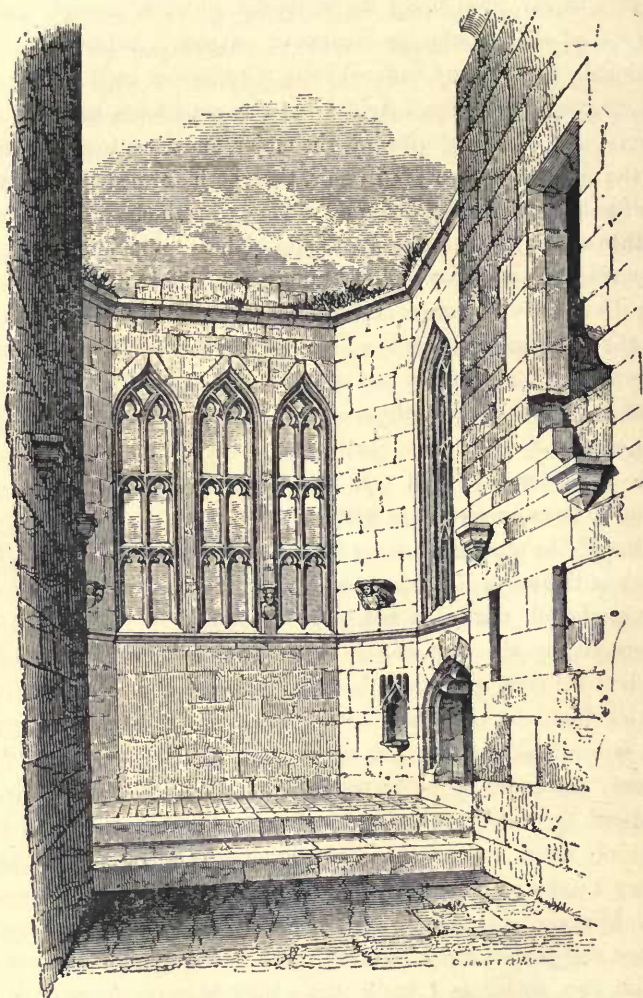
In his unfinished essay on the castle or manor-house, the late bishop Lightfoot assumed, without hesitation, that the chapel at Auckland would follow closely in that respect those of the episcopal palaces at Laon and Rheims, and, by consequence, of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, and the palace of S. Stephen at Westminster. In all these instances the two storeys, though of the same superficial extent, were of very unequal magnitude ; the lower chapels being nothing more or better than mere undercrofts or crypts, on which the upper and lofty

chapels proper were erected. They were, moreover, wholly separated from each other by the intervention of groined stone roofs and floors, so that service common to both could never be carried on in either. But this, so far from being the universal, or even general, was only *one* form of these double, or compound chapels. Another, met with occasionally in Germany, differed from it by having both storeys of the same, or nearly the same, height as well as superficies, so that the one could in *no* sense be described as the major, and the other as the minor. But the chief difference lay in this, that both formed in reality, and for all practical purposes, but one apartment in which service performed at either the upper or lower altar could be heard and joined in by two congregations—so to say—at the same time. This result was arrived at by dividing both storeys into central, side, and end aisles; vaulting only the latter in the lower one; and leaving the central space between the two open. The pillars and arches of the upper chapel, which were placed immediately above those of the lower one, carried not only, like them, a second set of aisle vaults, but a central one, common to both at the same level, as well. In other words, the two chapels might be said to be connected by a well floor.

One of the most interesting buildings of this class, perhaps, is the church of Schwartz Rheindorf, dedicated in the year 1151. The under church, though nearly, is not quite as lofty as the upper one; while the opening in the floor of the latter though somewhat small, is yet sufficient for those present in both to hear the service in whichever of them it might be performed. In castle chapels, where this arrangement is common, the upper storey seems to have been occupied by the noblesse, the lower by their retainers, as in England generally, and, doubtless, here at Auckland. There is a chapel of this kind in the castle of Eger, and another and very beautiful one of the twelfth century in that of Landsberg near Halle. One of the most beautiful of all, however, is that at Friburg on the Unstrutt, where the exquisite capitals and perfect finish of every part are very remarkable.

But this, so far as I know, was a method never followed in England. Here, practically, a similar end was achieved by a far simpler and homelier process. Instead of a series of aisles and vaults, two ordinary rooms, one above the other, were planned to open into a third and shorter one, but which equalled the two in height, at one end.

This third, short and lofty room formed the chancel, and contained the altar common to them both. As the floors of the lower room and



WARKWORTH CASTLE.

View of Chapel looking east. Corbels for beams of floors of upper Chapel are shewn in the foreground, with entrance doorway over.

chancel were on the same level, and might, therefore, naturally be held to form one chamber, the lower was consequently spoken of as the

major, or great chapel ; the upper, which, in effect, was only a sort of west gallery—the minor, or lesser one. This last, however, it should be observed, was invariably appropriated to the use of the lord and his family ; and hence, probably, the explanation of that strange craze for galleries in parish churches which took so firm a hold on the imagination of church-goers during the last and preceding centuries.

Interesting examples of chapels thus constructed may still be seen, among others, in ruins, at Warkworth, and in use, at Berkeley castle. Another, formerly belonging to the old manor-house of East Hendred,



EAST HENDRED MANOR HOUSE.

Longitudinal section of Chapel, shewing raised altar platform, and upper and lower Chapels, with their respective screens.

Berkshire, has now been destroyed, but of this I am also—thanks to a view of it having been taken in due time—able to offer an illusion.

That Beck's chapel was constructed on the same system cannot, from the several notices of it that have come down to us, be doubted. A knowledge of it not only might, but probably would, have saved Dr. Raine from very serious misunderstandings, both as to the actual

chapel and Cosin's words respecting it. But thoroughly confusing two wholly separate and distinct buildings, he goes on to tell us that the statement of bishop Cosin, 'in his own handwriting,' that he had 'erected a fine new chapel, the former having been, along with the Castle, almost utterly destroyed by the ravinous sacrilege of Sir Arthur Haslerigg,' is positively contradicted by the chapel itself, which in its *great leading characteristics is essentially in the same state in which it was left by bishop Beck in 1310*. And then, thoroughly satisfied on this head, and before proceeding to describe the building, he warns us that he must at once 'not only deprive Bishop Cosin of the credit of its total re-edification, but in pointing out the works for which alone he is answerable, specify the little which he did, and the bad taste in which that little was executed.'

Had Dr. Raine but steadily kept in view the established facts of the original chapel's having occupied an entirely different site, and of its absolute annihilation before Cosin came to the see; and had he only known, as it is perfectly clear he did not know, what the actual arrangement of such double chapels as that at Auckland was; he would never have committed the mistake of transferring it from one side of a quadrangle to the other, or confusing a one-storeyed secular building with a two-storeyed ecclesiastical one. And further, had he only paid attention to the words actually used by the great prelate whose life he was writing, instead of suggesting others which he never used at all, he would have escaped the odium of attaching to them a meaning which they neither did, nor were ever intended to, convey.

When Cosin, as he himself tells us, set about the restoring of 'our Episcopal Castles and in them especially our Chappels and some other places and buildings adjoining destined for public uses (all which indeed we found almost quite destroyed either by violence of the times, or the neglect and malice of men) that they might be duly repaired as soon as possible, and where necessary rebuilt,' Beck's chapel, with which—having long officiated in it as chaplain—he was perfectly well acquainted, had long ceased to exist.

Repairs, therefore, being quite out of the question, nothing but the other process of rebuilding remained open to him. But how? Not, as Dugdale erroneously supposes, with the materials of the old chapel collected out of Haslerigg's new mansion in which they had been built

up, and which the bishop caused to be in its turn demolished; for it was not pulled down till the present chapel was nearly, if not quite, finished. Nor yet on the same site, as Dr. Raine just as erroneously supposes, but on quite a different one. In what sense then must Dr. Basire, who, in his funeral sermon on the bishop, declared that:—‘He did erect a goodly Chappel in the Castle of Auckland;’ and Smith, who in his *Life of Cosin*, writes:—‘*Sacellum Aucklandiae flagrante rebellione Parliamentaria pulvere pyrio eversum, è fundamentis extruxit;*’ and lastly the bishop himself, who simply says that he ‘had erected a fine new chapel,’ be understood? Why, just in the simple and natural sense which was present to the minds of the writers, and in which all who either heard or read their words understood them at the time. The ancient chapel being gone and a new one urgently needed, the bishop at once proceeded to provide it in the fittest and readiest way possible by utilising the remains of the hall, out of which, by means of such great and costly additions as altogether transformed its general character and appearance, he ‘erected’—as, without the least thought of deception, he tells us—‘a fine new Chappel.’ Not a syllable, be it noted, does the bishop say of ‘total re-edification’—ideas and words which are Dr. Raine’s alone—nor anything, in short, beyond the literal and exact fact that he had ‘erected’ a new chapel, *i.e.*, partly out of what had, till then, not been a chapel at all, and partly out of work altogether new.

And both these statements are borne out and corroborated by Dr. Basire when he says that not only did the bishop ‘erect a goodly chapel, but consecrated the same himself on St. Peter’s day’—a ceremony which, had it, as Dr. Raine supposes, been the original major chapel of the castle, would have been quite uncalled for.

And even Smith’s assertion that ‘*sacellum—pulvere pyrio eversum, è fundamentis extruxit,*’ is capable of a perfectly correct, though very different, meaning from that more sweeping and comprehensive one which Dr. Raine attributes to it. For he neither says, nor means to say, that the entire chapel was raised up new from the foundations; but simply that, while wholly new as a chapel, a considerable part of it had been so raised. Which was exactly the case, not only as regards the whole of the clearstoreys, roofs, windows, turrets, battlements, and pinnacles, but of the entire south side and east and west ends as well—

the only parts, that is to say, which are either generally seen or accessible.

But Dr. Raine's error, and that of his contemporaries, indefensible as it may be, is yet far from inexcusable. Historians—so he would seem to have argued—might blunder, and bishops brag, while biographers abetted and backed them up ; but there was the building itself—not merely a church in actuality, but so 'like a church,' that it could never, conceivably, have been anything else, belieing them all flatly. It was just that fatally deceptive likeness, conjoined with contempt of history, which—knowing as they did nothing about two-storeyed chapels or aisled halls—led them to as thoroughly false conclusions respecting it, as did similar circumstances, the late Sir Gilbert Scott, in respect to the date and authorship of S. Cuthbert's church at Darlington. In both cases the contemporary written evidences were contemptuously set aside : in both, the structural evidences, unexamined and ignored.

VII.

We come now at length to a detailed examination of the hall certainly commenced, and—so far as its present remains go—all but as certainly completed, by bishop Pudsey ; the first step, possibly, as at Raby, towards a contemplated rebuilding of the entire manor, of which it not only was, but must ever after have continued, the grandest and most conspicuous feature. In striking contrast to his earlier castle hall, or halls, at Durham, its leading characteristics were spaciousness and grace. Eighty-five feet in length by forty-eight in breadth internally, it was divided by four admirably arranged but unequal bays into a central and two side aisles, the first measuring, from centre to centre of the columns, twenty-four feet, the latter twelve, or exactly half. Though unequally spaced, the bays throughout on either side correspond exactly with those opposite, the first to the west having a diameter between the shafts of twenty feet one inch ; the next of seventeen feet two and a half inches ; the following of seventeen feet ; and the easternmost of twenty feet. A further diversity of effect was produced by the use of different materials, Frosterley marble being introduced in varying proportions throughout. In the corbelled western responds stone alone is used. In the first detached western columns the alternate shafts, entire bases, central

bands, and capitals are of marble. In the central columns, with the exception of the capitals, the same. In the eastern columns the shafts, though again alternately of stone and marble, have no bands but only marble bases, with a marble capital to the south; while the eastern responds, which are not corbelled off like those to the west but descend to the ground, are of stone only. This inferiority of material, as well as greater simplicity of detail which accompanies it, is explained by the fact not only that the east was the lower, or kitchen end of the hall, but that it was in a large measure shut off by the screens. The arrangement, it is clear, forms in itself, if such were needed, another, if minor, proof that the building could never originally have been meant for a chapel.

As to the original height and pitch of the roof there is nothing now to show; but, as happened universally in the case of churches, the ridge would pretty certainly coincide more or less exactly with that of the existing clearstorey. It was, however, certainly of continuous or compass form, *i.e.*, embracing nave and aisles in a single span, and would therefore descend considerably lower down the aisle walls than do their present roofs, which are nearly flat. Moreover, as the beautiful shafted corbels show, we learn that, like that at Hartlepool, it was constructed with principals, and not as in some other cases—at Darlington for instance—with continuous rafters.

But beyond this, save that it was covered externally with slates, and provided with leaden gutters, which prove that it did not overhang the outer walls like that at Oakham, but had parapets as at Lincoln and Winchester, and that it had a louvre in the centre, we know nothing.

Nor can anything now be said as to its lighting, beyond the fact that, in addition to its side windows, there was also a small one, probably above another of much larger size, at the west end.¹⁵ One very curious and interesting fact, however, has been preserved to us

¹⁵ As will be seen later on, that at the west end was a very small thing, little if at all better than a mere ventilating hole, and an insertion of the fourteenth century. There would, however, pretty certainly be a window of some sort, circular or otherwise, in the eastern gable, above the kitchen roof from the first. At Winchester, in a similar position, there was a small triplet. But the gable windows of halls during both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were features not only deemed important, but on which considerable attention was bestowed, as numerous royal writs still extant serve to show.

by Dr. Raine, which otherwise would never be suspected, and that is that, until the days of bishop Van Mildert, who executed many repairs in it, the floors of the side aisles were two steps below that of the central one, an arrangement which must have lent the latter an immensely enhanced dignity. But beyond these few facts we know very little. The complete destruction or obliteration of every feature of the original work, as well as of such alterations and modifi-

At Wells, the gables of bishop Jocelin's new palace (1205-1244) were occupied by large bold quatrefoils above the double two-light windows. In the fine hall of Penshurst Place, a licence to crenellate which was granted in 15th Edward II. (1321), and which, with its roof, is all of one period, there are three small windows in the gables within the roof; the lower, of four lights, being adapted to the sweep of the arched principals, while the two other and smaller ones, each of two lights above it, are so arranged as to allow the king-post to be exactly fitted in between them.

Of special interest, however, as showing the king's own personal interference in the subject, are the many orders respecting these details contained in the Liberate and Close Rolls of Henry III. Thus, we find the king commanding the keepers of the works at Woodstock—'to pull down the four windows which are in the gable of the hall towards the east, and in their stead make one great round and becoming window, on high, with glass lights.'—*Lib. Roll*, 28 Henry III.

Then, again, the sheriff of Northampton is commanded 'in the window which is in the gable of the hall (at Yeddington) to make a white glass window with the image of a king in the middle.'—*Same date*.

Next year, 'the sheriff of Oxford is ordered to put new glass lights in the windows of the west gable of the king's hall at Oxford.'—*Lib. Roll*, 29 Henry III.

Again, the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 'is ordered to cause the window in the king's hall at Guildford towards the west nigh the dais (the gable window) to be filled with white glass lights, so that in one-half of that glass window there be made a certain king sitting on a throne, and in the other half a certain queen likewise sitting on a throne. Reading, February 3.'—*Lib. Roll*, 30 Henry III.

The sheriff of Kent is also 'commanded to make in the hall of the king's castle at Rochester, in the northern gable, two glass windows, one having the shield of the king and the other the shield of the late count of Provence.'—*Lib. Roll*, 31 Henry III.

The bailiff of Woodstock, again, is commanded to 'put two windows of white glass in the gable of our hall, barred with iron.'

The constable of Marlborough is also ordered 'to make a great round window over the king's seat (at the gable end) in the great hall there.'—*Lib. Roll*, 35 Henry III.

Then, again, 'The sheriff of Northampton is commanded to make a certain glass window in the king's hall at Northampton, with the figures of Lazarus and Dives painted in the same, opposite the king's dais (*i.e.*, in the gable facing it), which may be closed and opened. Merton, Jan. 8.'—*Lib. Roll*, 37 Henry III.

In addition to all which we have the justices of Ireland directed—'to cause to be built in Dublin castle a hall containing one hundred and twenty feet in length and eighty feet in width, with sufficient windows and glass casements, after the fashion of the hall at Canterbury; and they are to make in the gable over the dais a round window thirty in circumference, and also to paint over the same dais a king and a queen sitting with their baronage. Bordeaux, April 24.'—*Close Roll*, 27 Henry III.

The fine circular traceried windows in the gables of the palace halls at S. David's, and in that, now destroyed, of the bishops of Winchester at Southwark, are too well known from engravings to need further notice. The object, or at

cations of, it as might have been, and no doubt were, introduced in later days by bishop Cosin in his general rebuilding of the south side in 1662, has deprived us of many evidences, not only interesting in themselves, but largely explanatory of the primitive arrangements. Among the most salient of these would probably be that universal and important feature, the porch. This adjunct, which was often richly groined in stone, besides serving to shelter the chief entrance to the hall, had very commonly a chamber over it as well, from which, when so minded, the lord could view all who either came or went at his leisure. As it was always placed behind or 'in' the screens, however, its position only is known in the present instance, and nothing more. The conversion of the building into a chapel, of course, rendered its further continuance not only useless but impossible. But if this, the front, door has perished, the back, or servant's door which, as usual in such cases, was exactly opposite at the other end of the passage, remains and, though blocked, perfect. Like all, or all but all, of the earlier external features, it is to be discovered on the north side. As the opening is built up level with the surface of the wall, it is therefore impossible to say anything of its details, if such exist, but it exhibits jambs six feet seven inches wide and five feet eight inches in height to the springing of the arch, which is obtusely pointed. Eastward, but closely adjoining it, is another and smaller doorway, also blocked, only four feet wide, and whose sill is no less than six feet six inches above the basement or earth table. This led directly to the music gallery above the screens, and the marks of the weathering overhead show that it was formerly sheltered by a pentice. West of the doorways the walls, which remain as in Cosin's days, show marks of window openings in pretty well all directions both above and below, but nothing, so far as I have been able to make out, which gives us any clue either to the position or dimensions of those originally pertaining to them.¹⁶

least one of the chief objects, of their presence must undoubtedly have been to light up the timbers of the high roofs in which they were placed, and which must, otherwise, have remained in semi-darkness. Such would, quite certainly, have been the case at Auckland.

¹⁶ At a distance of about seven feet beneath the sill of the second window from the east is that of another and somewhat wider one, eight feet eleven inches in diameter, and four and a half feet only above the level of the earth-table. Another similar one also occurs beneath that of the westernmost window, having a diameter of eight feet eight inches, and set at a level of five feet ten inches above

But, by far the most striking and important features are the lofty and well-proportioned buttresses which extend from end to end. These, it is perfectly plain, formed no part of the original building, but are additions of the time of Beck ; and their presence serves to solve some very interesting, and hitherto unexplained, historical and architectural problems. First among them comes that somewhat precise and positive assertion of Dugdale that Beck built the hall, with its pillars of black marble speckled with white. Now, though such assertion, if taken *au pied de la lettre* would, of course, be still more inaccurate than the counter one, made in after times, that it was built by Cosin, one can still hardly escape the conviction that there must have been some sort of foundation for it in fact. He was certainly not the man to invent such a statement ; and, if not true in an absolute and unqualified sense, there might yet very well be one, or more than one, in which it was so. What, and how well grounded, that was, these buttresses remain to show. For just as their projection and outline declare them to belong to Beck's period, so does their great height, the fact that the walls they were erected to sustain were then raised far above their former level, and that the building generally, therefore, was recast well nigh as completely by Beck in the first instance, as by Cosin in the second. And hence, and not unnaturally, the attribution to him, in after ages, of the entire work. But that is not all : they explain far more than this. For they serve to connect those two famous prelates in a way which is not only very curious, but one which has never yet been even so much as suspected. No ordinarily attentive architectural student, I think, in his examination of the present chapel can fail to have been struck with the very marked and striking contrast which exists between the

the earth-table. Both are closely blocked, so that it is impossible to come to any certain conclusion concerning them. From their breadth and the low level at which they are placed, they might seem to have been insertions for extra light or air, or both, effected by some one or other of Cosin's more or less immediate predecessors, while the building was yet a hall, and before its conversion into a chapel. But one thing at least is certain, viz., that they are *not*, as stated by the author of *The County of Durham*, etc., the original, undisturbed sills of Hatfield's windows which, in every other case, were taken out and set at a higher level by Cosin, leaving the rest of the jambs and tracery undisturbed ; since the entire masonry of the actual windows is, as the mouldings show, of Cosin's date, pure and simple. Besides, were it even otherwise, those lower sills and jambs could never, by any possibility, have formed parts of the windows overhead, as they are of a different and considerably greater width.

character of the windows of the aisles and gables of it, and those of the clearstorey. Although seen in a setting of palpably seventeenth-century date, the character of the one, in spite of its surroundings, is as distinctly that of the pure fourteenth-century Geometrical Gothic, as is that of the other of the mixed, or bastard, seventeenth century Gothic. The last, interesting, and indeed excellent, as they are in their way, are altogether the product and outcome of the revived mediaeval taste of the age to which they belong : the first, though with some few and faint traces of that age, in all essential particulars, entirely distinct and alien from it. The one, that is, presents us with the general ideas of Gothic tracery prevailing in Cosin's days ; the other, on the contrary, with close, and marvellously exact copies of certain early and particular instances of it, which Cosin's architect had immediately before his eyes. Now, the buttresses and raised walls show us, with sufficient clearness, both for what purpose they were built, and where it was that those originals, of which we now see the copies, were found. As throughout nearly every parish church in the county—Darlington, Sedgefield, Staindrop, Hartlepool, Brancepeth, and Barnard Castle for example—the low side walls of Pudsey's hall were evidently raised in order that windows of a larger size might be inserted in them, and the building consequently receive more light than the limited dimensions of the originals would allow. Since the windows then were contemporaneous with the walls raised specially to receive them, and with the buttresses built to sustain their increased height, they must have been of Beck's time too, that is to say of the Geometrical style of the early part of the fourteenth century. And it is precisely this style of tracery, altogether different from that of Cosin's, or any other time, that these windows display. The inference, I think, is irresistible, viz., that Cosin's architect, finding Beck's windows, though probably decayed, still actually in position, saved himself all further trouble in designing new, and as they would doubtless have proved, very inferior ones, by simply copying them with a minute, and almost literal, exactness. And thus we see how—little as one might imagine it at first sight—this comparatively hidden and out of the way range of buttresses, serves to vindicate the works of the bishop, and the words of the historian, at the same time.

VIII.

But, a recent writer on the subject, in a work entitled *The County of Durham, its Castles, Churches, and Manor Houses*, takes a different view. In two passages of considerable length and confidence, he thus expresses himself:—‘ Although we have no record of works carried out by Bishop Hatfield in the castle of Auckland beyond those which occur in the solitary bailiff’s roll for the fifth year of his episcopate, there can be little doubt that here, as at Durham, his works would be of an extensive character. Indeed we can have no hesitancy in saying that as he is known to have greatly altered the great hall at Durham built by Bek, so at Auckland he made considerable changes in the hall built by Pudsey. The windows in the side walls, and at the east end of the aisles, are unmistakably of his period. The same may be said of the window at the west end of the nave, but that at its east end has, without doubt, been greatly tampered with’ (p. 484). And then a little further on: ‘The first important changes made in the great hall were effected, there can be little doubt, by Bishop Hatfield. The whole of the tracery of the existing windows, with the exception of that of the great east window and the clerestory windows, is distinctly of his period. Fortunately we have documentary evidence to show that Hatfield inserted the existing windows. Only one roll of receipts and payments of this bishop’s bailiff for the manor of Auckland has been preserved, but from this we learn that in 1349-50 a new stone window was erected in the west end of the hall, and that glass windows were bought during the same year for this and the rest of the windows of the hall. From the way in which these glass windows are mentioned there can be little doubt that, in accordance with the practice of the period, they were movable glazed frames, which could be taken out and stored away when “my lord” was from home. But had the bailiff’s roll for the preceding and following years existed we should undoubtedly have found entries accounting for the erection of the windows in the side walls, and at the east end, all of which are clearly of the same general character as the one at the west end. Although the windows in the side walls are of Hatfield’s period, not more than two of them retain their original proportions. . . . The sills were raised by Cosin.’ (*Ibid.* 494.)

More numerous or considerable mistakes, however, than are contained in the above extracts could hardly, I think, be compressed into the like compass. They comprise, as will be seen, no fewer than four distinct allegations. First, that bishop Hatfield made similar alterations in the hall at Auckland to those which he carried out in that at Durham. Secondly, that the existing windows are not merely in the style of his day, but those actually inserted by him. Thirdly, that the present west window is that referred to in the account roll of 1349, the cost of which in masonry, iron work, and glazing is all set out there in detail; and, fourthly, that these windows of the aisles which were erected by Hatfield were fitted originally with wooden glazed frames, and, with two exceptions, had their sills raised by Cosin. Well, let us now bring these allegations to the test of critical enquiry, and see how far they can sustain it.

In the first place then, as regards the style of the work. Bishop Hatfield ruled from 1345 to 1381, and his fifth year, to which the works here are assigned, would consequently fall in 1349, when the flowing Pointed style, if not already past, was, to say the very least, at its zenith. But the type of the tracery found in these windows is not that of the flowing Pointed period at all, but of the strictly Geometrical period, which ceased some thirty years previously. This fact alone, therefore, is quite sufficient to dispose of the first of these propositions. And the second, viz., that the windows seen to-day are the originals actually set up by him, is refuted still more conclusively by the witness of their masonry which, throughout its whole extent is that, not of the fourteenth, or even fifteenth, or sixteenth centuries, but of the seventeenth, as the most cursory examination of it suffices to show clearly. Thirdly, that the present west window which is adduced as fixing the date and authorship, not only of itself, but of all the rest along with it, has absolutely nothing whatever to do with that mentioned in the roll of 1349, may also be understood, at once, by simply comparing it with the cost of that historical insertion. What the size and general character of the latter were may be gathered from the fact that its masonry cost less than half a crown, or about forty-six shillings of our money. And then, as appears further, it was not, after all, an original one, for the account runs:—‘To a mason making a stone window *anew* at the west end of the hall by agreement for himself and his servant 2^s 3½^d.’

The strong iron bars and clasps for it came only to two shillings and sixpence, and the glass needed for filling it, and repairing that in all the other hall windows as well, to but forty shillings.

But the actual window—instead of being a mere small lighting and ventilating aperture, such as that mentioned in the account roll of 1349 must necessarily have been—is a large one of four lights, filled with richly moulded net tracery, the cost of which, so far from being covered by less than fifty shillings, would amount to between twice and thrice as many pounds. As to the fourth allegation, that these windows of Hatfield's were fitted originally with glazed wooden frames ; were this so, and the windows themselves those actually built by him, as alleged, then the channels or recesses for their reception would remain to bear witness to the fact, but nothing of the kind is to be seen in any one of them.

Not to Hatfield then, as is clear, but to Beck, to whom existing remains and historic record alike bear witness, must the first great alteration of the hall be referred ; just as to Gosin, the preservation, not of the material stonework, but the patterns only of the window traceries. A full and particular examination of these must be deferred, however, to a later page, when we come to speak of the second and far greater alterations effected by that prelate on his once more changing, not its aspect only, but its character, by transforming it from a hall into a chapel.

Of its general details, fittings, or accessories between Beck's time and Cosin's, as between Pudsey's and Beck's, we know nothing of any moment ; yet the few scanty and scattered notices that have come down to us have their interest, and cannot be passed by. The first thing we learn about it, from the account roll of Peter de Midrigg in the fourth year of Richard de Bury's pontificate, 1337-1338, is that it had *gutters* which needed repair both in lead and shingles (*cindulis*). This entry proves that, if not from the first, yet from Beck's time at any rate, it was, like the great halls of Winchester, Wells, Lincoln, and the somewhat later, but exceedingly fine and unaisled one at Penshurst, provided with parapets. Further charges for 1,500 shingles or boards and 4,000 'brodds' in the same year show further that, as might be expected, the roof was boarded above the rafters ; while a still further one of thirteen shillings and fourpence to Walter, the glazier, for repairing the glass *windows* in the gable of the hall, together with

another of twenty-three pence for 'barres wegges and iron nails for that work,' show that more than one such window, at any rate, was in existence eleven years before Hatfield's repairs of that at the west end—on which so wonderful a theory has been founded—were undertaken.

Then, the next thing we learn from the roll of Roger de Tikhill, in the fifth year of bishop Hatfield (1349-1350), and which immediately follows the entry of the repairs of the little gable window already mentioned, is this :—'For whitewashing the hall by my Lord's order, 3s.' This piece of information, slight as it is, is not without interest, for the coat of whitewash laid on then, remains still. With many other such like, and successive coats, it helps to make up the lowest strata which underlie sundry others of darker hue and later date, and which, after divers pickings and scrapings, serve to give in part to the arches, but more especially to the corbels at the west end, a resemblance to the Frosterley marble of certain of the shafts and caps, so close as completely to deceive, at a little distance, even the most careful eye. This piece of deception, the result of pure accident, has, of course, only been achieved in recent days.

Hatfield's coat, however, which contributed to lead up to it, was doubtless merely the continuation of a practice which had obtained all along, and was handed on to the time of Cosin. With sundry modifications, it was the common way of treating all wall surfaces, even those of the royal halls and chapels.¹⁷ Whatever other kind of decoration

¹⁷ What an entire ignorance of ancient ideas and practice is displayed in the modern outcry against plaster and whitewash as being barbarisms of recent introduction, and especially chargeable against churchwardens of the Georgian period, is shown in the clearest way by the Liberate Rolls of that highly cultured and art-loving king—Henry III. His own personal directions in the matter as applied to the various royal residences, and their principal apartments, can hardly fail to be read with interest. How completely at variance the views of his days and ours, generally, on the subject were and are, let the following extracts show :—

'The king to the constable of the Tower of London. We order you to cause the walls of our queen's chamber, which is within our chamber, at the aforesaid Tower, to be whitewashed and pointed, and within those pointings to be painted with flowers.'—*Lib. Roll*, 23 Henry III.

'The king to the keepers of the works of the Tower of London. We command you to cause our great chamber in the same tower to be entirely whitewashed and newly painted.'—*Lib. Roll*, 24 Henry III.

The king to the same. 'We command you to cause all the leaden gutters of the great tower to be carried down to the ground; so that the wall of the said tower, which has been newly whitewashed, may be in no wise injured by the dropping of rain water. And also whitewash the whole chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the same tower. And whitewash all the old wall around our aforesaid Tower.'—*Lib. Roll*, 25 Henry III.

might be superimposed, it would seem, almost invariably, to have formed the groundwork. Sometimes stencilled patterns representing ashlar-

'The sheriff of Dorset and Somerset is ordered to cause the tower of the castle of Corfe to be pargeted with mortar where needful, and to whitewash the whole of it externally.'—*Lib. Roll*, 28 Henry III. A similar order also was issued to the constable to 'whitewash the keep of Rochester castle in those places where it was not whitewashed before.'

'The sheriff of Wiltshire is ordered to repair the wall of the king's chamber at Clarendon externally with mortar, and to whitewash it.'—*Lib. Roll*, 28 Henry III.

'The sheriff of Southampton is ordered to stop up and repair the crevices in the new tower in the king's castle at Winchester, and to whitewash that tower inside and out.'—*Lib. Roll*, 30 Henry III.

'The king to the sheriff of Wiltshire. We command you to whitewash our great hall at Clarendon.'—*Lib. Roll*, 33 Henry III.

'The king to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol. We command you to let glass windows be made in the chapel of St. Martin, and lengthen three of the windows of the same chapel, to wit, two in the chancel and one in the nave, that it may be better lighted; and let it be whitewashed throughout.'—*Lib. Roll*, 34 Henry III.

'John de Haneberg is commanded to crenellate the queen's chapel at Woodstock, to wainscote and whitewash the same chapel.'

'The king to the sheriff of Wiltshire. We command you to cause the new chamber within the park at Clarendon to be whitewashed and bordered.'

'The king to the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex. We command you to strengthen the wall of the castle of Guildford with buttresses and underpinning, and whitewash it; and repair the lead on the tower, and whitewash the same tower.'—*Lib. Roll*, 35 Henry III.

'The bailiffs of Feckenham are commanded to whitewash the king's chamber and the queen's chamber.'

'The king to the sheriff of Nottingham. We command you to cause to be painted before the altar in our chapel a certain tablet, etc., and in the passage make wooden windows, etc., and wainscote the wardrobe in the queen's chamber; and cause to be painted in the chapel of St. Catherine, before the altar a tablet and above the altar another with the "history" of the same virgin, and paint the judgment to be dreaded in the gable of the same chapel; and whitewash that chamber, wardrobe and chapel on every side and point them lineally.'—*Lib. Roll*, 36 Henry III.

'The sheriff of Nottingham is ordered to whitewash the king's chamber at Clipstone.'—*Lib. Roll*, 36 Henry III.

'The bailiff of Gillingham is commanded to make a new wardrobe, with a privy-chamber, to the great chamber towards the kitchen, with a chimney to the same chamber; to whitewash and illuminate the whole chamber, and to wainscote, whitewash and illuminate the chamber of Edward the king's son.'

'The king to the bailiff of Havering. We command you to plaster and whitewash our queen's wardrobes.'—*Lib. Roll*, 37 Henry III.

'The sheriff of Surrey and Sussex is ordered to whitewash the king's hall at Guildford within and without; and to whitewash and quarry the king's chamber; to paint the ceiling in the same of a green colour becomingly stencilled with gold and silver; to whitewash within and without the king's chapel, the queen's chapel and chamber, and the queen's great wardrobe.'—*Lib. Roll*, 40 Henry III.

'The king to the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex. We order you to whitewash and wainscote the chamber over the chancellor's bed at Guildford. Whitewash and repair where needful, the tower of our castle there, and repair and whitewash the walls of the baily of the same castle.'—*Lib. Roll*, 41 Henry III.

It may not be without interest to note in this connection that, besides the interior of the hall, the exterior of the parish church of S. Andrew was also certainly in former times whitewashed.

work, with borders of foliated or other ornament ; sometimes, though rarely, pictorial panels containing scriptural, historical, legendary, or mythological subjects, helped, as in churches, to break the dreary uniformity, and give life and colour to the scene.¹⁸ Whitewash, pure and simple, nevertheless, answered well enough for ordinary occasions ; and when the lord happened to be in residence—for he travelled about habitually from one manor to another—then its stark nakedness was covered with some one or other of the various sets of ‘hallings,’ which were either kept in store, or sent on with him in his migration from place to place. If those of Beck at all corresponded in costly splendour with his historic saddle cloths, and the vestments pertaining to his chapel, as doubtless—considering they were his private property, and not, like the hall itself, that of the see—would naturally be the case, they must have been of a very sumptuous sort indeed. But nothing is certainly known of them. Of some of Hatfield’s hangings,

¹⁸ That these painted decorations were similar in kind to those of the other chief apartments, of which divers notices occur, can hardly be doubted. A few, however, among those mentioned as actually occurring in some of the royal halls may be instanced. Thus, at Winchester, ‘a map of the world’ was painted on the wall. Among other subjects not specified in the hall at Woodstock was a ‘certain chequer-board’ containing this verse:—

‘Qui non dat quod amat, non accipit ille quod optat ;’

and a similar verse:—

‘Ke ne dune Ke ne tune, ne prent Ke desire’

was painted also on the gable of the king’s great chamber at Westminster.

In the hall at Winchester the paintings above the dais were to be renewed and repaired, the heads on the dais of the king’s great hall there to be painted and gilded, and the ‘pictures on the doors and windows’ to be ‘renewed.’

At Ludgershall ‘the history of Dives and Lazarus’ was to be painted ‘in the gable opposite the dais.’

In the great hall at Northampton ‘the history of Lazarus and Dives’ was ordered to be painted ‘in a certain glass window opposite the king’s dais.’

The hall at Guildford also contained the same subject in the same position, where, as in the two preceding instances, it was pictured in obedience to the king’s special order.

The sheriff of Southampton was ordered to make, among other other things, ‘a figure of St. George on the wall, in the entry of the hall’ at Winchester, and to renovate the windows which were painted with the king’s arms.

The sheriff of Surrey was also commanded ‘to make at the head of the table in the king’s hall at Guildford, towards the entry of the king’s chamber, a certain spur of wood ; and to paint there the figure of St. Edward, and the figure of St. John holding a ring in his hand.’

All the doors and windows of the king’s hall and chamber at Winchester were, again, ordered to be painted with his arms.

The sheriff of Wiltshire was ordered ‘to put four Evangelists in the glass windows of the king’s hall’ at Clarendon ; and the sheriff of Southampton ‘to carve and paint an image of St. Edward and place it over the door of the king’s hall’ at Winchester ; while—

At Dublin, over the dais, were to be painted ‘a king and a queen sitting with their baronage.’

however, though belonging to a bed room rather than to a hall, we have mention in the account of the offerings made to the church at his funeral. Besides the 'two cloths of gold of a red colour, interwoven with pelicans and crowns which covered his body,' we read of a 'bed, having five curtains of purple silk and satin, with images of St. George the Martyr in armour,' which the sacrist sold to John Lord Nevill, as they could not be conveniently made into vestments ; and then, of 'eight pieces of tapestry, of woollen of the same bed and colour, interwoven with wild men in arms, which the Prior retained in his chamber for curtains.'

That the hall, whatever its other surface decorations may have been, was really hung with curtains in addition, is shown by a charge in a roll of the first year of bishop Dudley (1476-1477), for '200 little hooks to support *lez costers* in the hall, 3^d.' But of these particular costers or any others, indeed, nothing descriptive has been recorded. As in all similar structures, its floor, according to custom, was strewn with rushes ; one of the items in the same roll running—'Paid to Thomas Hopeland for moving rushes to strew the hall and chambers within the manor-house, for 4 days 16^d.'

Of the flooring itself, on which, as well for convenience as comfort, perhaps, these rushes were spread, no mention is made in the scanty records that have come down to us ; nor should we have known of what sort it was, but for the discoveries made in connection with the introduction of hot water pipes under bishop Maltby in 1842. In many cases the flooring of halls, as indeed of certain churches—Hamsterley for example—could only be described as such on the *lucus a non lucendo* system, seeing that, beyond mere beaten earth, they had no existence at all. Here it was found to have consisted of 'a concrete of lime, small gravel, and coal-dust,' and it still remains, as is said, at a depth of eighteen inches beneath the surface. Whether this concrete covering was ever exposed to view, or, as may possibly have happened, in part at least, served simply as a foundation for a superficial facing of tiles, or other material, does not appear ; but as no remains of anything of the kind seem to have been met with, the concrete alone, it is probable, formed the only sort of flooring the hall ever knew.¹⁹

¹⁹ That the floors of poor country churches should, in many cases, consist of nothing more or better than earth, is hardly to be wondered at when we find

Two other vanished features, more or less intimately connected with the floor of the hall, and of which mention, either direct or implied, occurs, should also be mentioned. I mean the bishop's (probably) fixed chair of state, at the high table, and the brazier or reredos, which would occupy a raised hearth in its centre.

Of neither, indeed, have we any particulars—merely the fact that they existed. As to the seat or throne, however, it would doubtless, like those of king Henry III. in the halls of his many castles and manors, occupy the central place of the dais at the west end, where the present doorway has been broken through. In bishop Ruthall's time the following entry occurs respecting it in the roll of his clerk of works for the year 1513-14 :—'For dressing of my Lord's place in the holl 5s.' If, as is possible, this dressing referred only to some substantial or decorative repairs, then the seat, like divers other such like, may have been one of considerable richness. Thus, among constant orders respecting those in the many royal palaces, we find in the Liberate Rolls, 34 Henry III., Godfrey de Lyston ordered 'to make a

that such was the case in at least one of the royal chapels, the bailiff of Havering being ordered 'to wainscote and crest the queen's chapel at Havering, and to *well earth* the flooring of the same chapel.'

At Winchester castle, the floor of the same queen's chamber is ordered to be *plastered*, perhaps in similar fashion to this at Auckland. The hall there was ordered to be paved, doubtless with tiles, as in the king's demesne chapel and oriel at Clarendon; where also the king's chamber was ordered to be paved with plain tiles, as well as that of the queen. That the hall at Winchester had previously had an *untiled* floor is evident from the fact that its internal decorations, such as the gilding of the capitals of the columns, and the bosses of the roof had been executed no less than five years previously. Ten years later, 35th Henry III., the king's new chapel there was directed to be paved with tiles (this, no doubt, in the first instance), as were also the king's chamber, and that of the queen, which were not new, and must consequently, till then, have had floors of another, and probably inferior, description. The chapel, and the queen's high chamber at Clarendon, were also ordered to be paved, in the same year, in place of whatever flooring they had had before.

'The chamber of Edward, the king's son,' at Winchester, again, was ordered in the 37th of his reign 'to be paved with flat tile,' and the king's chamber, and that of the queen at Gloucester with tile; and 'the king's chamber, the queen's chamber, and all the king's chapels at the manor of Woodstock to be paved,' as would seem, for the first time, with such material.

In the 41st of the same reign, the upper step of the king's hall at Winchester was ordered to have a pavement of tile, a renewing, perhaps, in better quality of that which had been laid down sixteen years previously.

The king's new chapel at Woodstock was ordered to be paved (in the first instance as we may suppose) by the advice of master John of Gloucester, the king's mason, the chapel of the queen there, which had been built previously, having a new floor of tiles laid down in it at the same time. The sheriff of Surrey was also ordered in the 42nd Henry III., 'to pave the king's chapel, the queen's chapel, the king's chamber, and the queen's chamber' at Guildford, in lieu of whatever kind of flooring they had theretofore been provided with.

royal seat at the middle table in the king's hall at Windsor castle, on which he is to paint the figure of a king holding a sceptre in his hand, taking care that the seat be becomingly ornamented with gold and paint.' Again, two years later, the wardens of the works at Woodstock are directed 'to make a canopy (tabernaculum) above our seat in the hall, with a royal seat;' as is also, in the fifty-fourth of the same reign, the sheriff of Northampton, 'to complete the chair in the king's hall at Northampton castle lately begun, and cause it to be carved as the king enjoined him orally.' Though sometimes movable, chairs of this sort were also sometimes, as perhaps here, fixed. Such, for instance, among others, must have been that which in the 29th Henry III. Edward of Westminster was directed to have ready before Easter in the great hall there, and respecting which the king wrote to him :— 'As we remember you said to us that it would be little more expensive to make two brass leopards (that is, lions) to be placed on each side of our seat at Westminster, than to make them of incised or sculptured marble, we command you to make them of metal as you said, and make the steps before the seat aforesaid of carved stone.' In the great hall of Durham castle, until the days of Fox, who greatly curtailed its length, the bishops had two such great chairs of state, one at either end, a most unusual, if not unique, arrangement.

Save that, like the hall it had to warm, the brazier was perhaps somewhat larger than common, it differed probably in no respect from such utensils generally. That, like its necessary adjunct, the louvre, it must have held its place from the beginning, goes, of course, without saying. Of the latter, however, we know, apparently, only how long it lasted, since the first distinct notice we have on the subject points clearly to its successor. It occurs in the account roll of William Cawood, clerk of the works to bishop Dudley, 1480-1, and runs thus :—'Paid to John Robson, carpenter (7^s), working at the making of one "lovir" in the hall of the said manor-house, for 14 days at 6^d., along with 23^s 4^d paid to Thomas Fisher and his three comrades, carpenters, at the same work, for 56 days one with another, at 5^d., 23^s 4^d.' The only other mention of it occurs in the days of Cuthbert Tunstall, in the account roll of whose clerk of works for the year 1543-4, we read :—'Payd for on yron band for the lover of the hall, 4^d.' Of its final removal, in bishop Cosin's time, we shall have to speak further on.

Another feature connected with the hall, and forming no unimportant portion of it, which has also, since its transformation, naturally disappeared, is the porch. It occupied the easternmost bay on the south side, and would, pretty certainly, as the covering of a principal entrance through which so many were ever coming and going, be of becoming size. Of the value attached to these convenient and necessary adjuncts we may judge, as well from existing remains, as from the frequent reference made to them in the Liberate and Close Rolls. Thus, in the 23rd Henry III. the sheriff of Southampton is ordered to make in the castle of Winchester 'two posts before the porch of our hall, and a certain chain for the same posts,' by way of protection to it. Then, in the 27th of the same reign, the justices of Ireland are directed to cause a great hall to be built in Dublin castle of a specified length and breadth, with 'a great portal at the entry of the same hall.' In the year following the keepers of the bishopric of Winchester are ordered 'to buy four images for the porch of our hall there,' as is also the bailiff of Woodstock 'to make a door in the aisle of the same hall, with a great and decent porch;' and in the next, the sheriff of Wiltshire 'to make one great and becoming porch for the king's hall at Clarendon.'

All we know about that at Auckland, however, and which goes but little further than a bare intimation of its existence, is contained in the following brief entry in the account roll of Tho. Thornburgh, clerk and surveyor of the works to cardinal Langley, for the year 1422-3:— 'Paid for 300 (the greater) lattez for the roof above the hall door, 3s.' Whether such roof came immediately above the doorway, as in the case of ordinary porches, or whether, as in the case of the parish church of S. Andrew, the porch was vaulted in its lower stage, and only roofed above its upper chamber with wood, it would now be idle to enquire. But chambers in such positions, as at Penshurst, Kent; Clevedon Court, Somerset; Crowhurst, Sussex; Great Chalfield, Wilts; Wingfield manor, Derbyshire; Winchester and Kenilworth castles; and the magnificent episcopal palace of S. David's, were common enough, and might very well have occurred here too.

Intimately connected both with the hall and porch, was another accessory feature of which we have only a very brief and late notice, and that is the laver. In an account of 1584, *temp.* bishop Barnes,

there appears the following :—‘ For two cockes in the laver at the halle dore, 3^s 8^d.’ The customary place for this useful and appropriate appendage was inside the porch and hall door, and behind, or within, the screens. There all, of whatever degree, had an opportunity afforded them,—which they were expected to turn to account,—of sitting down to meat—whether with ‘ pure hearts, and minds unlifted up to vanity ’ or not, at least ‘ with *clean hands*.’

One of the earliest of those appliances extant is probably that at Dacre castle, Cumberland, where it takes the form of a richly moulded trefoil-headed piscina, with a scalloped bowl, and stone shelf at the springing of the arch overhead. This last was provided, perhaps, either for the reception of the towel, or attached metal dish which contained the water, as in the hall of S. Mary’s Guild at Boston, where the inventory mentions—‘ A laver of laten, hangyng with a cheyne of yron.’ A very highly ornamented niche, apparently for the reception of the towel, and provided with a twisted iron pendant to hang it on, occurs also, in this connection, at Little Wenham Hall, Suffolk. But probably the finest and most elaborate domestic example of the kind is that at Battle hall, Leeds, Kent—a large and excessively rich crocketed, ogee-shaped niche, fringed with beautiful hanging Decorated tracery, and containing a cistern in the shape of a miniature castle. At the base of this are two lions’ heads for the issue of the water, and in front, a projecting and richly moulded trough for washing. The very rich and extensive ecclesiastical remains of this nature at Norwich and Gloucester cathedrals will occur to most of my readers.

But one other of the ancient and lost details of the hall remains now, I think, to notice—I mean the external covering of its roof. What this was in the first instance is, perhaps, doubtful. From the accounts of shingles or boards for the hall roof contained in the roll of 1337-8, it might seem uncertain which of the two forms was intended—that is, shingles, as ordinarily understood, in the shape of wooden tiles, or an inner lining of planks between them and the rafters, known technically as sarking. The former constituted a very general form of roofing, even of the royal manors, down to the fourteenth century, and may once, therefore, very possibly have been adopted here. Thus, in the 17th Henry III. the sheriff of Oxford is ordered—‘ to cause the aisles of the great hall at Woodstock to be

unroofed, and re-covered with shingles ;' in the 23rd, Walter de Burgh is commanded—'to roof our Chamber at Kennington, and the Chamber of our queen there with shingles ;' and the bailiff of Woodstock to cover the small chamber of the great wardrobe with the same material. In the 25th, again, Paulin Peyvre and I. de Gatesdene, keepers of the bishopric of Winchester, are directed—'to roof the great wardrobe with its pent houses with shingle ;' and in the 30th, the bailiff of Kennington, to cover the chambers of the king and queen with shingles, and to repair the walls of the same chambers. And so in many instances down to the 44th of the same reign, when the constable of Marlborough is ordered—'to remove the shingles from the roof of the King's great Kitchen and to cover it with stone ; . . . and take the thatch off the outer Chamber in the high tower, and cover it with the shingles of the said Kitchen, and to crest it with lead.'

But slates and tiles began gradually to supersede these more perishable materials ; the former being ordered for the roofing of 'the house erected in the middle' of the castle of Winchester ; as also for a new stable for the use of the queen, a certain house for the poultry, another for the use of the salter, and for all the houses of each court which were not slated. So, too, Walter de Burgh is ordered to unroof the king's chamber at Kennington, and afterwards to re-cover it with good tile, and allowed the cost of tile bought to cover the hall there. How generally such change was effected by the beginning of the fourteenth century may be seen by the letters patent of Edward II. granted in 1314 to his mother-in-law, Margaret, queen dowager of England, which set forth that divers manor-houses and castles which she held in dower, being greatly in need of repair, they might be roofed at a less cost with slates, stones, and earthen tiles, than with wooden shingles. He therefore gives her leave to unroof, and cover them accordingly, as well as to cut down and sell as many oak and other trees in the several manors as will pay for the cost of such repairs. And such a course may, not at all improbably, have been pursued here at Auckland, since, whatever the primitive covering of the hall may have been, it is quite certain that in 1543, at any rate—and how much earlier cannot now be said—it consisted of slates. Thus, in the account of the clerk of works for that year, we read :—

'1543-4. *Manerium de Awklande.* Payd, the 21 day of July, to John Lockey and his servaunte, ether of them, for working 27 dayes in dyghting of sklaytis and setting of them and poyntyng over the hall, at 11^d the daye for them boyth, 24^s 9^d. Paid to Antony Johnson for working at the sayme 25 dayes, at 6^d the day, in toto 12^s 6^d. Payd William Browne for serving of them 23 dayes, at 4^d the day, 7^s 8^d. Payd to 4 women, every of them for 10½ dayes, for serving of them, and beryng of rubbysse, 2^d the daye, 7^s. Paid to Lancelott Aytis and his son, at 2 tymis, for 10 foder of lyme from Cornforth, 2^s 8^d, boyth for the lyme and for the caryage of ever foder, in toto 26^s 8^d. Paid to John Somer, for caryng of 100 stone of leyde from Henknoll to Awklande, 4^d . . . Paid to the plumbers for 3 dayes in wirking uppon the hall syde and uppon the chapell, at 6^d the day, 18^d. Payd for 6 pounce of sawder that was spent uppon the sayme, 2^s. Payd to Robert Bylloppe for 4400 latte brodds that was spent of the royf of the hall, at 3^d every hundreth, 11^s. Payd for 500 duple spyking for the sayme, 3^s 4^d. . . . Payd the 23 daye of August John Lockey (13^s), Antony Johnson (13^s), William Brown (8^s 8^d), every of them for wirking 26 dayes in theking over the hall, the stewerd-chalmer and other placis, at 6^d the daye for ether of 2 of them, and 4^d the daye for th'oder, in toto 34^s 8^d. Payd to Jamis Lockey for wirking at the sayme 26 dayes at 5^d, 10^s 10^d. Payd to 4 women every of them for wirking 26 dayes in beryng of sande and lyme, and serving of the sklayters with morter and stone, at 2^d of the daye every of them, 17^s 4^d. Payd for on woman for caryng of lyme in to the lyme hous, 2^d. Payd for a rydle and on booll for the lyme, 3½^d. Payd for sherping of the picks, 17^d.'

This slating, which was evidently of a very extensive nature, going on as it did for nearly a month, would be, if not the first, yet pretty certainly the last of its kind; and continue till Cosin, some hundred and twenty years later on, removing both it and all its supports along with it, raised those flatter and costlier lead-covered roofs which continue still.

IX.

And now, after noticing at such length the vanished, it is time to turn our attention to the surviving, features of this grand twelfth-century hall. They, happily, far exceed in value any, or all, such



AUCKLAND CHAPEL.

Interior from Organ Gallery, looking E.

(From a photograph by Mr. H. Kilburn of Bishop Auckland.)

minor details as are gone, and serve to stamp it still, I do not hesitate to say, as the noblest surviving example of the domestic architecture of its day.

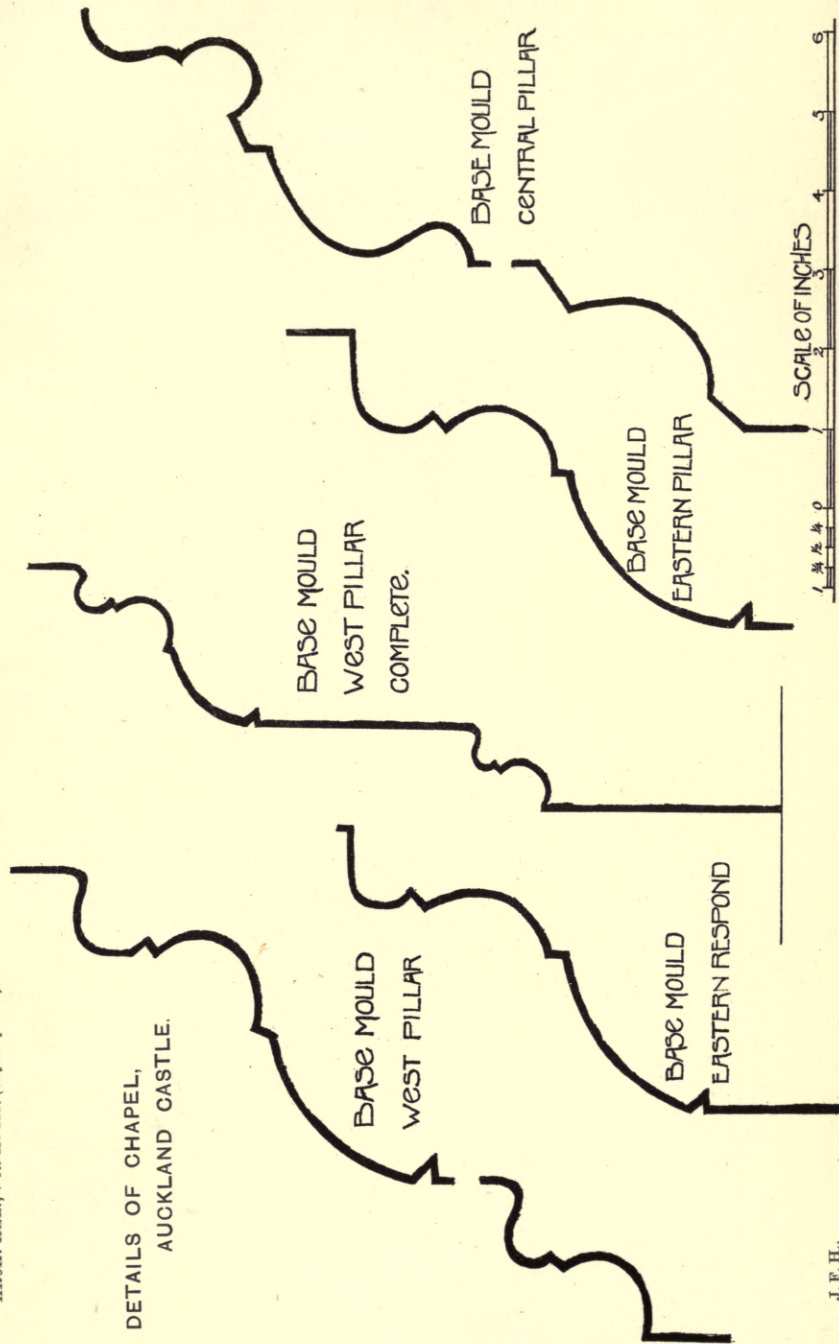
The first and most momentous question that confronts us, then, is as to when, broadly speaking, that day precisely was. And it is precisely that which has never yet been scientifically entered on, or answered. The utmost that has hitherto generally been advanced is the very safe assertion, or conjecture, that the westernmost piers on either side are of Pudsey's time ; leaving the date of all the rest an open question, though with the necessary implication, of course, that they are, or *may* be, of a different, though unspecified, one. By one local writer of repute they are said to be of the 'style of Bishop Pudsey's time, and strongly resemble those in the Galilee at Durham ;' and by another, that the two clustered piers at Auckland castle in the chapel, with Transitional volutes, attest his (Pudsey's) probably unfinished work there.' Mr. Billings, who certainly should have known better, is content, imagining it, like all others in his day, to be the ancient chapel, to leave the whole of it to Beck ; while the late bishop Turner, of Grafton and Armidale (then Mr. J. F. Turner, B.A., of Durham University, an excellent architectural scholar, who supplied the notes from which Dr. Raine chiefly drew up his description of the chapel in his work), says only that 'the capitals are of the date 1180-1190, so as to come within the episcopate of Bishop Pudsey, who built the Galilee at Durham, to which they and their piers bear a strong resemblance.' And with such halting—and incorrect, as halting—utterances, enquirers had to rest content. How halting, is obvious enough ; how incorrect, from the simple and well-known fact that Pudsey's columns in the Galilee are not of a quadruple form at all, but of two detached and coupled shafts ; while even the extra ones inserted by Langley in the fifteenth century are not, like those of Pudsey here, cut out of the same stones, but merely packed in, *tant bien que mal* between the ancient and monolithic ones. Beyond the single point, however, that one pair of columns may safely be referred to Pudsey's days, the writers are afraid to go, judiciously preferring to let all concerned draw their own conclusions about the rest. What the true, but much shirked, conclusion is we have still, therefore, to enquire.

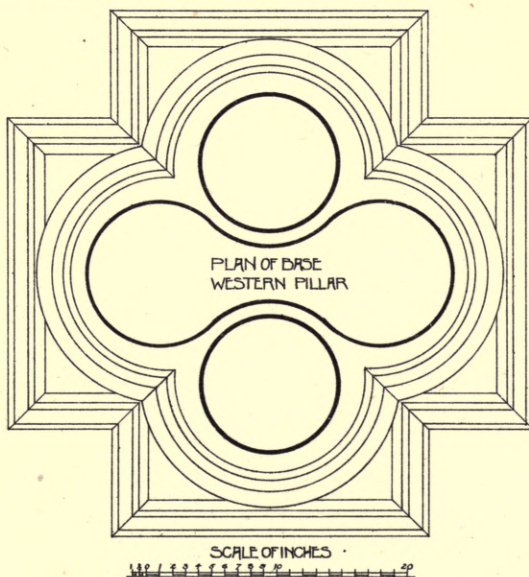
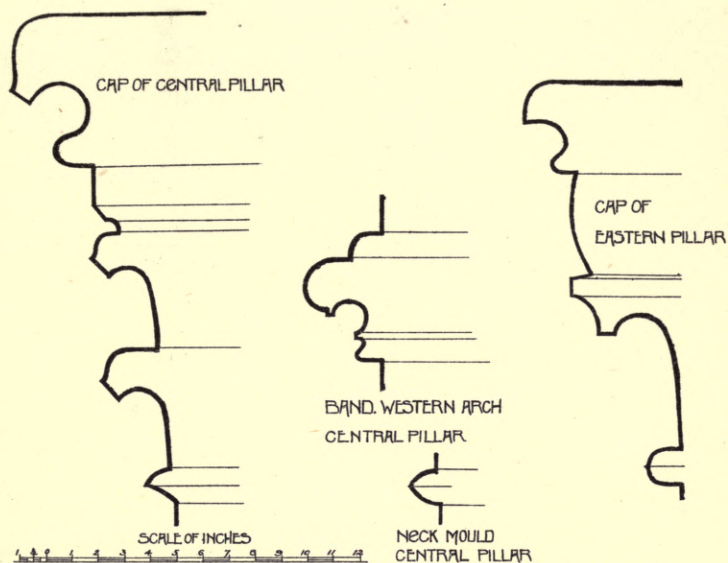
Now, the first point to which here, as in all like cases, attention should be directed, is the planning of the building as a *whole*, in order to see clearly whether it can be attributed to one mind and time or not. Had such a course only been followed by those who from time to time have undertaken to describe the hall, those doubts and fears which so evidently beset them might very largely, I think, have been dispersed. A very brief view either of the interior elevations or ground plan would have sufficed to prove, beyond all contradiction, that the planning was the work of a single mind, most carefully considered and set out from the first. For, though displaying considerable irregularity in the proportion of its parts, those irregularities, so far from being the result of either accident, carelessness, or change of plan, are found to be not only perfectly balanced and symmetrical, but the outcome of the *profoundest artistic insight and constructive skill*.

The general planning then, being self-evidently uniform and contemporaneous, the next point for examination is that of style, as exhibited in the mouldings. And further, and in special connection with the subject of the particular piers referred to, as to how far, if at all, their details harmonize with, or differ from, those east and west of them. To this end it will be desirable to begin at the beginning, and first of all take account of the several bases, premising that those on either side correspond exactly with their opposites ; the only exception to this rule being that on the south side the westernmost pier has leaves at the angles, whereas the northern one is plain.

To put the matter beyond all doubt, I have measured and drawn the mouldings of all the bases full size ; as well as an entire base—one of the two westernmost in question—showing the vertical surfaces in addition to the mouldings, half full size (see plate XXII.). The sub-bases of the easternmost columns, as also those of the eastern responds both north and south, it should be said, are, and apparently have long been, destroyed. There is not the least reason, however, to doubt but that, like the upper parts, they corresponded as to style exactly with the rest. A single glance will be enough to show how, differing slightly in every case as regards the proportion of their members, those members preserve not only the most perfect unity and identity of character, but almost of form, throughout. All are evidently designed

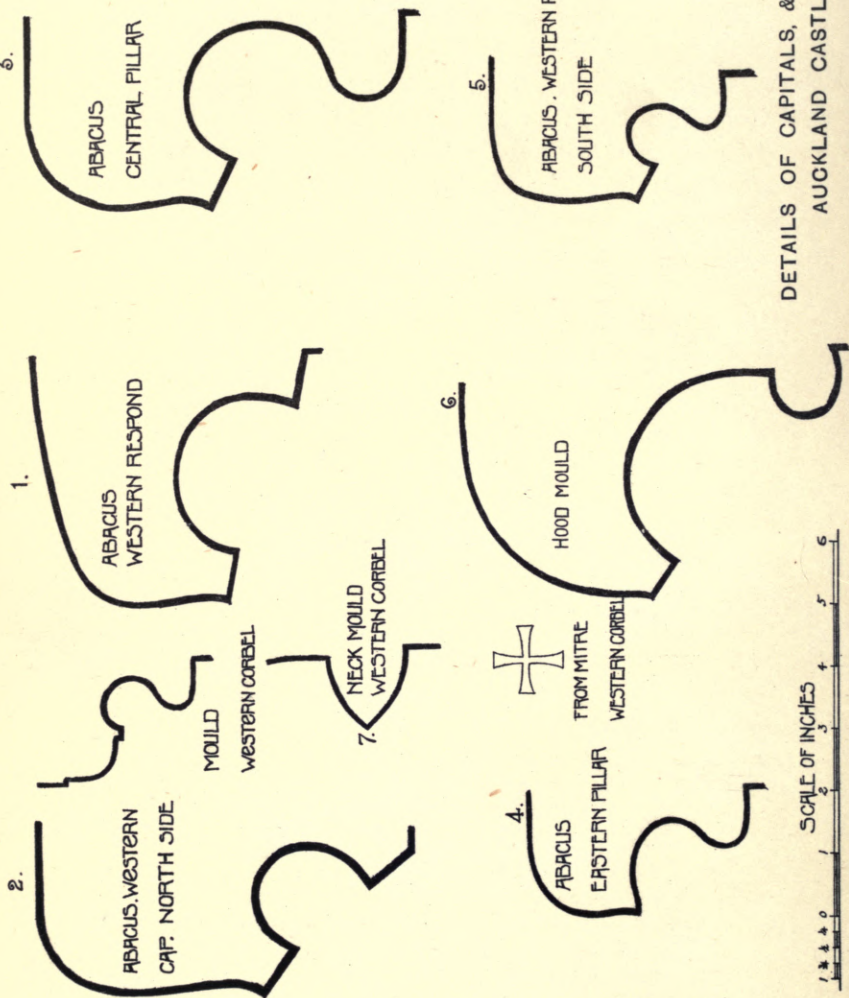
DETAILS OF CHAPEL,
AUCKLAND CASTLE.





J. F. H.,
mens. et del.

DETAILS OF CHAPEL, AUCKLAND CASTLE.



J. F. H.,
mens. et del.

DETAILS OF CAPITALS, &c.,
AUCKLAND CASTLE CHAPEL.

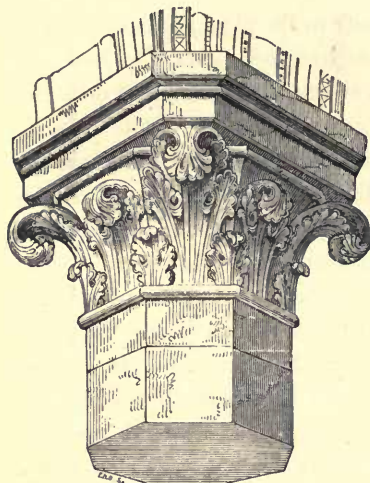
by one man, and set in their places at one and the same time. All are of the same cruciform section, and all too, save those of the eastern responds which, like their columns, are of stone, are of Frosterley marble.

From the bases we proceed naturally to the piers which they carry. And here again the designs of all are seen to be alike. In each case the eastern and western shafts which are united by a hollow neck (see plate XXIII.) are built in several courses of stone, while those to the north and south are detached, and in single lengths of marble. In the western and central piers, all the four shafts are banded at mid-height with marble bands of the same pattern, the under mouldings of which are so identical in design with others on the dwarf western responds as to show, in addition to the bases, that all are of one date in these particulars also. The easternmost piers and their responds which, unlike the western ones, descend to the ground, are not banded; the latter being also wholly of stone. The reason of this diminished richness of design and material has nothing whatever to do, as some have supposed, with any difference of date, which the bases have shown could not be the case, but simply with the fact of their connection with the screens in which they were both more or less incorporated.

And now, after comparing bases, bands, and shafts, we come, in the next place, to the capitals. Of these, but two on each side, viz., those of the western responds and pillars are foliated, the rest simply moulded. And the first point to be noted in the whole of these is the strict and close resemblance, amounting to practical identity of design which, notwithstanding a constant difference in proportion, exists in the abaci of the four central and western ones (see plate XXIV., figs. 2, 3, and 5); those of the western responds (fig. 1), which differ from them very slightly in section, doing so not at all in style any more than those of the eastern capitals and responds (fig. 4). That these last, as well as their capitals, should be both plainer and smaller than the others, which adjoined the dais, is due simply to the inferiority of their position.

But, apart from their abaci, the capitals themselves, strictly so called, remain to be examined. And it must be admitted that the contrast presented by the two often quoted western ones, not only to the rest, but to all the other sculptured foliage in the corbels, both of the

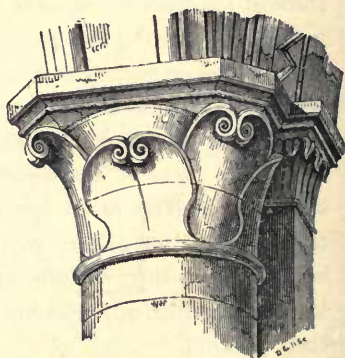
nave and aisles, is very striking indeed. Nay, so marked and palpable is it that we can hardly wonder at the mere superficial observer seizing on the fact, and drawing a decided, if unexpressed, line of distinction



between them. And then, as though still further to accentuate the difference, the abaci of these two capitals are square, while those of all the rest are round. How, therefore, it might well be asked, save only on the hypothesis of a difference of date, are such discrepancies to be explained? Till quite recently the explanation, it is true, was far from being either as simple or convincing as could be wished. Whatever correspondence of detail might exist in other respects, the divergence of character in the foliated ornament seemed far too pronounced

to lead readily to any other conclusion than that the capitals of these westernmost piers had been worked some ten years or so earlier than those of the responds and roof corbels.

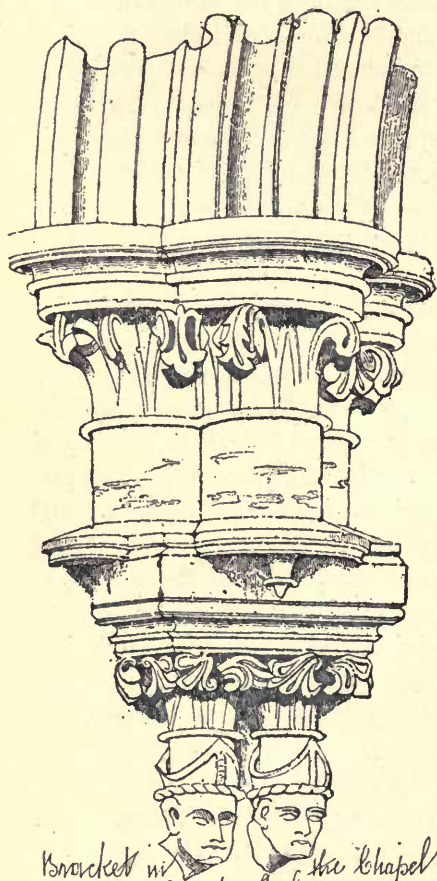
And yet such conclusion would—as divers other instances of that period of Transition remain to show—be as hazardous as wrong. Of this, Pudsey's other great work at Darlington, to go no further, provides at once a striking illustration. There, in the lower north range of wall-arcading in the choir, and supporting the arch of the central window enriched with frets, which have commonly been called Norman, is a little capital of the most beautifully designed and detached foliage imaginable—blown, apparently, by the wind, and having all the characteristics of pure Early English work. Yet above it, and there-



fore to some extent necessarily later, are, in the clearstorey range, two other capitals of the same sort, but with the broad, flat, water-leaf curled up at the corners, freer, no doubt, but of just the same fashion as those in the Galilee at Durham. Were these but detached from their surroundings and set side by side, the general verdict would doubtless be, not only that the later ones were the earlier, but earlier by at least twenty years. A similar difference in the leafage of capitals of the same date may be further instanced among those of the choir of Canterbury cathedral, erected by the famous William of Sens, 1174-78. Here, the fine bold Corinthianizing foliage of the one is seen in intimate connection with that of another of a far plainer, flatter, and more archaic type, but which, nevertheless, we know from a contemporary eye-witness to belong to the very last year of that master's work. (See opposite page.)

Further light, the result of closer and more careful enquiry, has sufficed, however, to dispel all manner of doubt with respect to these at Auckland, and reconcile apparent contradictions, in the clearest way possible. Viewed from below, that is from the floor of the chapel, the capitals, both of the piers and responds seemed to be, quite certainly, of the same material, viz., Frosterley marble. And the difficulty they presented was this, that if the bold and detached foliage of the one could be cut from such a substance, there was no efficient reason why that of the others should not correspond with them. In much the same way as at Darlington, where other seeming difficulties occurred, all that was wanted for its solution was a sufficiently long ladder. Brought into close view the apparently indubitable marble of the responds was discovered to be nothing of the kind, but simply stone—stone, moreover, as appeared on removing the grey, and white, wash that covered, and gave it its fictitious character, containing so much iron as still further to aid the fraud by exhibiting just such a corrugated and fretted surface as that of the marble itself after prolonged exposure. The explanation, like the imposture, was complete. It showed in the most convincing way that the contrast in style of the respective capitals was due, not to any difference of date, but simply of material; the sandstone of the respond capitals accounting as completely for the detached tufts of foliage in their case, as the stubborn intractability of the marble for the flat and massive treatment of it in those of the piers. And, as

will be seen, it served doubly to clinch the fact that—whatever differences of style or date might seem to exist—the two sets of capitals were, notwithstanding, contemporaneous ; since both at Darlington and Canterbury, where precisely similar variations occur, the material of both is the same, and the difference of treatment due therefore to



*Bracket in the Chapel
Auckland Palace*

the caprice, or previous practice of the carver *only*. Besides which, we have, undoubtedly, in these two groups of Auckland capitals the work, not of one, but of two entirely different men—the first, a marbler pure and simple, limited, as well by habit as necessity, to one mode of treatment ; the second, a stone cutter, free as air, and limited by no such conditions at all. And then, another point of interest brought clearly to light, on close inspection, was that the abaci of both these capitals, differing as they do in some particulars from the rest, were practically alike (see plate XXIV.), a further proof, if such were wanted, that both are of the same date.

And yet further evidence of the unity of date and style, not only between the western piers and their responds, but between them and those at the other extremity of the building. The capital moulds of the south-western respond and those of the easternmost piers and responds on both sides are identical, as are also the abacus moulds of the western and central piers ; and thus—minute

variations of outline and proportion notwithstanding, the whole of the piers from base to abacus are seen to be of one date and style.

Still a further point which, in a critical examination as to unity of date may be noted is, that the reduced depth of the abaci in the capitals both of the eastern piers and responds which might, perhaps, be thought indicative of an advance in style from those west of them—is closely matched by that of the south-westernmost pier (see plate XXIV., fig. 5) which, while agreeing with the opposite and central ones in design, agrees just as closely with these eastern ones in proportion. A final and noteworthy point is, that the abaci of the capitals of the western and central piers—the earliest and latest in type of all, which, viewed separately and apart from their surroundings, might well be taken as belonging to the purely Transitional and Early English styles, respectively—are yet, both in design and proportion, all but identical. A diligent comparison of details shows, in fact, that whatever slight variations of form or proportion may here and there appear, a perfect unity of style, notwithstanding, pervades these capitals from end to end.

As to the marble—of which the two western and south-eastern capitals, as well as all the bases, bands, and alternate shafts of the columns are composed—it is not a little interesting to know, to an all but absolute certainty, the name of the artificer,—none other than bishop Pudsey's tenant, Lambert, the *marmorarius* who, in 1183, held thirty acres of land of him at Stanhope for his services, of which we here—as I think I may safely say—see some of the results.

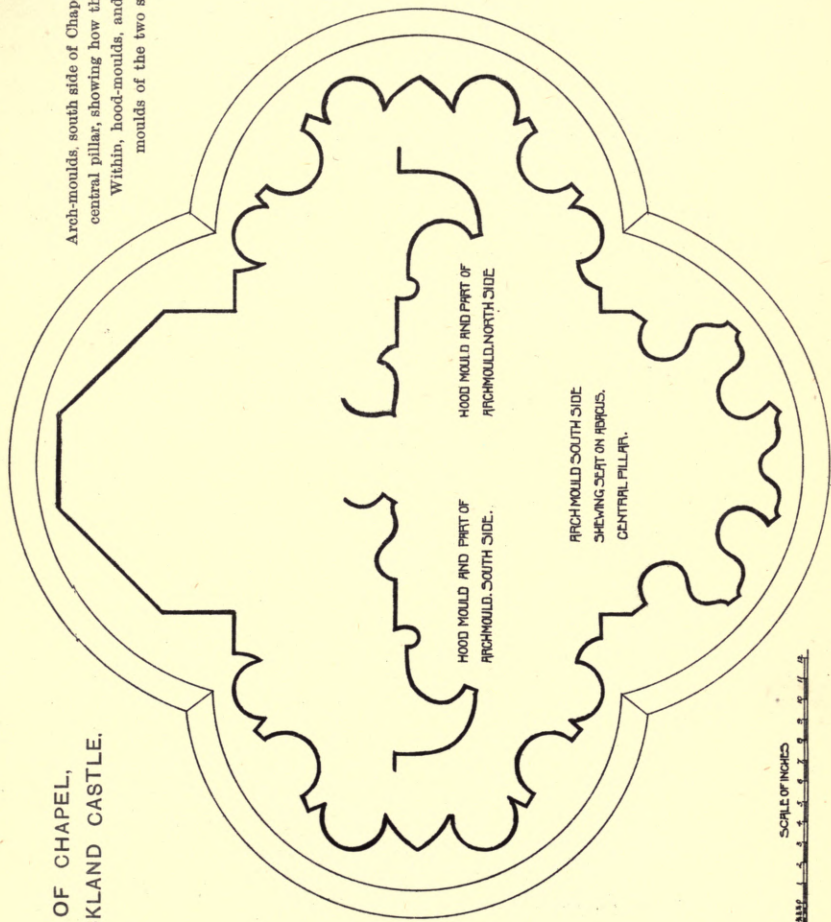
We come now to those crowning features of the arcades, the arches, still as ever, the most imposing and noblest of all. For mingled boldness of design, beauty of contrasted form, and richness of detail, they far surpass anything of their kind, indeed, that has come down to us. Their vast height and spaciousness which produce so commanding an effect, are due, no doubt, to the fact that, in the first instance, they were designed to carry nothing further than the roof which sprang immediately from their summits. Yet the added clearstorey and raised aisles of after days, owing to the massiveness of the construction, have detracted nothing from their justness of proportion, or fitness for their place. And no greater praise could be given them, I think, than this, that so far from helping to degrade the character of their seven-

teenth-century surroundings, or causing them to look contemptible, they serve rather to raise them to a higher level, and bring them into sweet and solemn harmony with themselves.

As with the piers which support them, the chief questions to be considered in respect to the history of the hall are as to the date of these arches; whether any differences occur in their details, and, if so, to what cause and what period they must be assigned. Now it is obvious that their date can only be determined by the mouldings which, fortunately for our enquiry, are not only numerous but decisive. For the first time in their history probably, and with the sole purpose of elucidating it, I have drawn the whole of them on both sides of full size, part by part; and after that remeasured and redrawn them half-full size connectedly. From these half-sized drawings the accompanying illustrations have been reduced again. They form, as will be seen, two distinct groups, one of which is confined strictly to one range, the other to the other. Of the two, the northern group (see plate XXV.) presents the slightly earlier type. Not, of course, that there is any actual difference of date between the two, but simply that the design of one of them was made and commenced with first. That anything in the nature of a pause or 'solution of continuity' occurred during the progress of the works there is absolutely nothing either to show or to suggest. The original design having once been begun was naturally, seeing that the outer mouldings flow into each other, continued uninterruptedly to the end of the range. But that circumstance does not in the least tend to prove that the other range was not carried on simultaneously. The trivial difference that takes place in the outer group of mouldings, (see plates XXV. and XXVI.), and in that alone, is just such as might naturally occur to the architect to make before his presumably earlier design was many days old. And that such was the case is likely enough, for just as the opposite piers of either range would seem to have been set at the same time, so might, and to a large extent probably were, their arches also. But however this may have been—and the matter is not of the least importance—the great and supremely interesting fact to note is that the mouldings of both ranges are distinctly Transitional throughout, and not in any sense, or to any extent, Early English at all.

DETAILS OF CHAPEL,
AUCKLAND CASTLE.

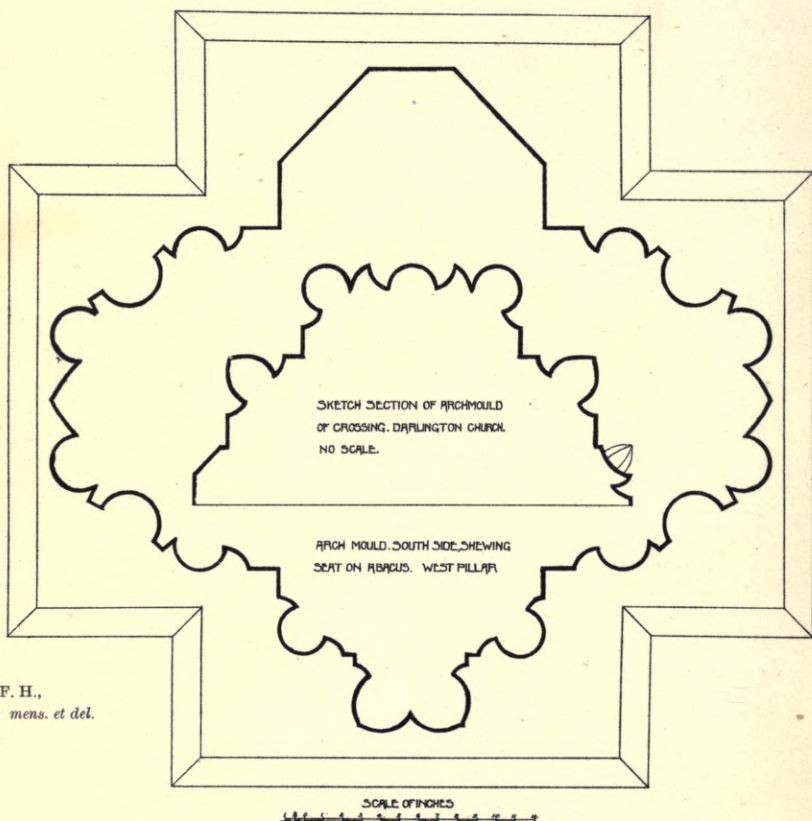
Arch-moulds, south side of Chapel, with abacus of
central pillar, showing how they sit upon it.
Within, hood-moulds, and other arch-
moulds of the two sides.



SCALE OF INCHES
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

J. F. H.,
mens. et del.

DETAILS OF CHAPEL, AUCKLAND CASTLE.



Arch-moulds, north side of Chapel, with abacus of N.W. pier, showing how they sit upon it.

Within, sketch arch-moulds of crossing, Darlington Church.

These last are, really, somewhat larger than those at Auckland.

As a reference to plate XXV. will show they agree to the utmost nicety, both as regards date and style, with the great crossing arches at Darlington, with which they cannot be too carefully compared.²⁰ That the outer mouldings of the southern range at Auckland, which exhibit the roll and fillet, point in no way to any difference of date may be inferred from the fact that these tower arches at Darlington which, like those of the northern range, exhibit none such, must necessarily have been built, not before, but *after*, both the north and south transepts, where the same roll and fillet mouldings are found profusely. The great historical and architectural problem, therefore, which a comparison of the two sets of arch moulds serves conclusively to solve is this, viz., that the three eastern limbs of Darlington church and the great hall of Auckland castle alike, were not only designed, but carried out to completion, at the same time, and by the same great prelate, Hugh Pudsey, before his death.

X.

We arrive now at the second great chapter in the history of the building when, after serving for three hundred and seventy years as the great hall, it underwent as complete a change of aspect as of

²⁰ I give a carefully taken *sketch* section of the mouldings of the crossing arches at Darlington church, taken partly from the ground, but chiefly from the narrow internal gallery immediately above the crowns of the arches, whence a close and excellent view of them, and of the way they sit upon the capitals, is obtained. It is, of course, not taken to scale, as a nearer approach was impossible; though as the walls are but some six inches thicker than those at Auckland, the dimensions vary only to that extent. The same arrangement of semi-circular rolls and hollows will be seen to obtain in both; and both having been built by Pudsey, and at the same time, must, pretty certainly, have been the work of the same man. In both cases, it will be observed, the outermost moulding at the back of the arches consists merely of a simple chamfer. At Darlington, however, the dimensions of this moulding which, at Auckland, are very bold and full, are extremely trifling. Yet, the corresponding space towards the front, is made to yield the most surprising and deceptive effects imaginable. As will be seen on examination, this result is entirely due to deep and skilful undercutting, and the marvellous effects of light and shade thereby produced. Really flat with the face of the wall, and in surface outline, the appearance produced is that of a projecting hood-mould, which again is further heightened and accentuated by the free insertion of multangular pointed cones. The deception is still further heightened by this moulding being supported in the inner angles of the tower by dwarf detached columns, standing on the caps of the great piers. A more striking result, achieved in an equally small space, it would, I think, be impossible either to find or to conceive.

It will, of course, be noticed that these arches belonging to the crossing, and not being continuous as those in an arcade, show only half the group of mouldings which appears on the plan of those at Auckland; while being introduced only for purposes of comparison, their size is also considerably reduced.

character, on being diverted from secular to sacred uses, and transformed into a chapel. Happier than Beck's structure, it would seem to have sustained little or no injury, save such as resulted from neglect or time, up to the close of Haslerigg's usurpation. That its ancient roof, though more or less decayed, still stood intact, at least, is clear from the fact of bishop Cosin's determination to retain the louvre, his projected alterations notwithstanding. 'My Lord,' writes Mr. Arden, 'meanes the same lanthorne that is over the Chappell at Aukland shall be so, though the rooffe be altered, and he will a lanthorne like it also over the new Hall.' How truly he set himself 'diligently to provide and take care that our Episcopal Castles and in them especially our Chappells and some other places and buildings adjoining destined for publick uses might be duly repaired *as soon as possible*, and where necessary newly rebuilt,' may be gathered from the fact that though only consecrated to the see on December 2nd, 1660, the agreement for the new roof was being anxiously carried on during the January, of 1661-2. 'Ask Mr. Bowser,' writes the bishop himself to his steward, Mr. Stapylton, on the 30th of that month, 'what agreement he hath made for the wood rooffe of my Chappell at Aukland. I have considered the upper windows there, and I think four may serve, if five cannot be had.'

The aisle roofs, it seems, were finished first ; and that almost, if not quite, by as early a date as the 13th of March. 'How my work goes weekly on,' says the bishop to Mr. Bowser, 'you tell me not, nor how you have agreed with the carpenter for the cost and fashion of the Chappell rooffe ; when, according to my former direction, which was to have it framed with great mouldings all along the bottome of the beames, as the roofes in the side iles are already done.'

Among the many noteworthy features of the buildings, none, I think, are more deservedly so than these roofs of the aisles to which the bishop refers. Occupying a subordinate position, and by consequence deemed unworthy of the ornamentation applied so lavishly to the central one, they present us on that account with forms of such simple and massive dignity, combined with purity and fitness of proportion, as would tempt us to refer them far more naturally to the beginning of the fifteenth, than to the end of the seventeenth century. So thoroughly mediaeval of aspect are they indeed, that little or no

difference, either of detail or construction is to be detected between them and those raised by Cosin's predecessor Langley (1406-1437), above the central alley of the Galilee. As to the architect, to whose fame such works might justly redound, there would seem to have been none. Like all the rest of the new work about the chapel, the roofs, both of the aisles and centre, were apparently designed and executed by an ordinary workman, who is spoken of merely as the carpenter. His name, unfortunately, is not mentioned; but as Abraham Smith of Durham is shortly afterwards designated by that term in distinction from his associate, John Brasse of the same place, joiner, it is probably to him—who must have had perfect knowledge of Langley's roofs—that these exceptionally fine pieces of timber-work are due.

Some little difficulty seems to have occurred between him and the bishop, however, as to the price of the work of the central aisle roof, for various negotiations took place about it. Writing to the steward, Mr. Arden says:—'You and Mr. Bowser doe not agree in the difference of the charge in altering the two roofes at Aukland. Your accompt makes it 146*l.*, and Mr. Bowser's notes makes it but 100*l.* This does something distract my Lord's judgement of it, that it had beene better your reckonings had beene first compared. My Lord excepts against your saying that now the carpenter had finished the Chappell rooffe (which he has done nothing to but bording it), he asks 30*l.* for altering. My Lord thinkes the carpenter very deare, and may be brought to abate of his price. If you see Mr. Bowser againe, pray agree about the true difference of the workmen's demands about this.'

Whatever the exact nature of the 'difference' may have been—and it is far from being as clear as could be wished—the 'carpenter' was not called upon to complete the roof that he had made. For this purpose the services of a 'carver' were sought, and that, somewhat strangely—considering with what zeal the works were being prosecuted—not till after the lapse of rather more than a year. The difference occurred in February, 1661-2, and it was not till April 7th, 1663, that an agreement was made with 'Richard Herring, carver, to receive for carving 2 great eagles (in wood, for the roof of the middle aisle), at 12*s* 6*d* per pece, 1*l.* 5*s*. For 2 mitres at the west end of the Chapell, 10*s*. For 4 cherubins heads, 14*s*. For 4 garlands, 16*s*—3*l.* 5*s*. To have the stuffe sawne redy to hand. Mr. De Keyser to judge,' etc.

The agreement,²¹ however, is perhaps, almost as interesting for what it omits as for what it specifies. Besides the 'two great eagles,' which are placed on either side immediately above the bishop's grave, the two mitres, cherubin's heads, and four garlands at the west end of the chapel ; there are also two coats of arms there besides ; the great coat of 'my Lord's proper arms' between the eagles ;²² together with the same arms, and those of the see, which fill alternately the eight panels between the main beams in four bays, or compartments ; as well as the four mitres and four cherubins' heads of the eastern bay, of which no mention occurs at all.²³ Whether the latter were supplied by the carpenter, who was probably quite competent to do so, or by some other, does not appear. But the effect of the whole, even now, is magnificent. What it must have been originally we can, at the present time, unfortunately, only imagine. For it was never meant, nor allowed, to be seen as a mere expanse of bald and bare carved wood. The true taste for mediaeval polychromy would seem to have possessed the bishop just as

²¹ We shall have occasion to note this agreement about the painting of the bench ends later on.

²² The eagle was the evangelistic symbol of S. John ; and the arms between them being those of Cosin : 'my Lord's,' as distinguished from 'the Bishop's,' the two together proclaim the name of the founder—John Cosin. The eagles from their position, immediately above the tomb, may serve also to express 'the hope of the resurrection from the dead :' 'They shall mount up with wings as eagles.'

²³ The roof is divided into seven main compartments, of which the two end ones are very slightly the largest. The two on either side the central one are each divided into eight squares, containing the arms of the see and those of Cosin alternately. The central compartment is divided into three parts only, the middle one containing the arms of Cosin, the two outer ones each a great and very well-drawn and carved eagle—the evangelistic symbol of S. John, the bishop's patron saint and namesake—all set within oval frames or wreaths. The eastern compartment, which, like those adjoining the centre one, is also in eight divisions, has the four central ones charged with enormous mitres variously treated, and rising from ducal coronets, also within oval wreaths. The four corner compartments are each filled with four-winged cherubic heads. The westernmost compartment, above the ante-chapel, is treated in a somewhat different fashion. Instead of three or eight, it is divided into twelve panels, four large and nearly square ones occupying the centre, with four smaller oblong ones on each side of them, east and west. The two central larger ones bear the arms of Cosin ; the two outer, or side ones, mitres, all within wreaths, as before. The four central smaller panels, supporting those charged with the arms, are occupied by four-winged cherubs ; the other four outer ones supporting those bearing the mitres, with ribboned garlands.

The admirable design and well thought out variety of treatment of this roof, together with its bold and vigorous execution, reproducing as they do all the leading characteristics of the finest mediaeval examples, are quite surprising, and testify most remarkably, not merely to the taste which distinguished, but to the wonderful hold which the ancient Gothic spirit still had upon, the local school of wood carvers of that day.

completely as that for architectural forms; and both had here, most happily, full play. How far the building both was, and is, indebted to his personal influence and direction, artistically, has never yet, I think, been adequately understood or appreciated. Practically, as all his letters and contracts show, he was not only his own architect, in the more restricted sense of the term, but his own decorator as well.

What these, even now, splendid roofs would have been, but for his individual taste and supervision—deprived, that is, of the ‘great mouldings all along the bottome of the beames,’ on the presence of which he so strenuously insisted, and which, without his influence, would certainly never have been there, may readily be conceived. A Norwich man by birth, he would be well acquainted with the wood-work of the city churches there; and familiar, from his childhood, with such magnificent examples of it, as the roofs of S. Stephen’s, and S. Peter’s Mancroft, with all the latter’s wealth of moulded timbers, and cloud of perpetually poised, and praising angels. What wonder then, if, when his own turn came to raise a similar structure, he should take example by such glorious works, and not only enrich its beams with mouldings, but fill the intervening spaces with symbols of spiritual power, and of the heavenly host?

But this was not all. The whole of the surfaces were designed to be felt only—not seen. The bishop, as well from natural instincts, as from bitter personal experience, had little love for puritanism in any shape—its hypocritical affectation of ‘sad’ and sober tones included. All the surfaces were to be aglow with gold and colour. By an agreement made July 22nd, 1664, John Baptist Van Ersell undertook ‘to painte the midle rooffe of the midle ile of the Chapell of Auckland, the beames, pendantes and mouldings, brases and spandrells, &c., with coullors of which part is now painted; to painte all the coates of armes in their proper coullors, and the two large eagles alsoe, making the groundworke of the wholl rooffe of the blew already painted therein, bordering the flatt within every coate with yellow mixt with black stroakes, to shoue like teeth; to paint the carved myters and cherubin’s heads fixed to the rooffe between the two east arches and east window with proper coullors; to guild with leafe gold the carved worke of the said myters and off the cherubin’s heads and wings in proper places only; the beame adjoyning to the two east arches to be painted on a

different collour, if the same shall be chosen, and the pendants and spandrells to distinguish between the myters and cherubin's heads over the Communion-table and the rest of the worke westward ; to paint and guild ten angells and escutcheons of my Lord's proper armes and the Bishops, to be placed as my Lord shall appoint ; to paint in stone collours upon the two sides of the wall by the east window on each side three collumnes or pillers, to be answerable to the two east pillors opposite to them, from the bottome of the spring of the arch to the pavement, with the cornish and base suitable thereto ; to fill upp and stopp all the cliffs or crackes in the myters, cherubin's heads, lyons or other carved worke in the said rooffe fixed, before he begin to painte the same ; to painte fower stall ends of the collour of the skreen. To finish all before 10 Aug. To receive 18*l*. at four payments.'

Commencing, as we have done, with the coloured decoration of the roof, it will be more convenient and intelligible, perhaps, if we proceed at once to take account of the general scheme of polychromy applied in connection with it to the other parts of the chapel. But, before doing so, it may not be amiss to point out how thoroughly scientific and well understood that decoration, as determined by the bishop's own personal judgment, was. As a rule, all such applied colour, unless very judiciously treated indeed, has the well-known effect of bringing the surfaces nearer to the eye, and by consequence lowering the apparent height of the building. Here such a mischievous result would seem to have been carefully guarded against, since none tends to preserve the appearance of height and distance so perfectly as the light blue selected, apparently, for the ground work of the panels. This was relieved, as will be noted, by its complementary colour, yellow ; which in its turn again was kept in place by 'stroakes of black to shew like teeth.' With the gold and blue of the 'bishop's,' as opposed to the blue and silver of his own personal coat, and with the vermilion, white, and other light tints taken in connection, the general effect was doubtless as harmonious as magnificent.

Can it be credited that the whole of this splendid work, so beautiful originally, so much more beautiful when toned and mellowed by the soft touch of time, was brutally scraped off, and the wood left bare—let us hope at the instance of some wretched satellite, not at his own—

by good bishop Barrington? It was thought, forsooth, out of harmony with the 'chaste simplicity of Protestant worship!' Nay, so unspeakably chaste was this simplicity that even the grey and white specked marble of the pillars was felt to be a scandal, and consequently covered up with a puritanically sombre coat of drab!! But Cosin, besides being a scholar and a theologian, was an artist, and judged differently. By him the roof was never meant to stand out as a solitary mass of colour, apart from, and at variance with, the rest. Its tinctures were to be extended and reflected everywhere. The heraldry displayed aloft was to appear also on the walls and in the windows. As early as February, 1662-3, the bishop, writing to Mr. Stapylton in London, says:—'As you passe through Holborne ask of the painting glasier (I have forgot his name and his signe) neere Hatton House, what he will have for aneiling a coate of armes, about a foote and half in length, with the mantlins. Perhaps wee shall have a dozen or 20 or more of them, to put in my Chappel windows here; but aske him his price as of yourself and not from me, least his price be so much the greater.' And then, in December, comes the following:—'Contract with Nicholas Green and W^m Lamb of Durham, glaziers, and Matthew Browne and John Arundell of Bishop Auckland, glaziers; to glaze all the windows of the Chappell, . . . with blew glasse and white glasse, according to patterne agreed upon, as may appear by one of the lesser east windows now in the said Chappell; to glaze all the tracery worke in the windows aforesaid, *in form to be chosen by the Bishop*, with white and blewe glasse; the blewe not exceeding one fourth part; to provide white and blewe glasse, clean and good as in the said east window, lead solder, cementing, pointing, bands and tyes; to performe the worke cleanly and artificially, without cracks or broken or disorderly pieces, at or before 1 Aug. next; to receive for every foot both in the square lights and tracery, 9½d.; foure equal payments. For all the neeld glasse which the Bishop shall provide at his own cost abatement to be made according to measure and the above rate.' And this blue and white glazing of the windows was to be carried out and supported by the like tinctures in the walls between them; an agreement of the same date as that relating to the painting of the roof, viz., July 22, 1664, running—'For the bleu pannels and skutchins in the side iles between the windows, 1l.'

Following swiftly upon this, and bearing date 19th August, comes also the following agreement:—‘John Baptist Van Ersell, of the city of Durham, painter, to make the archatrive about the upper midle ile of the Chappell, and the mouldings under the soles of the windowes there, suitable to the arkatrive of the skreene and stone-worke of the said windowes, for which he shall have 3*l*. The chaires and deskes before them in the two side iles, the stall ends, etc., to be painted of the coullour of the new wainscott, with tracery in the pannells before the deskes, varnishing the said work, 3*l*. 10*s*. To paint the carpenter’s worke now sett up at the est end of the Chappell, under the three windows, of a walnutt-tree colour, handsomely vained, with fruite downe the pillasters, the freese blew, with large gold letters over the Communion-table these words: LAUDATE DEUM IN DECORE SANCTO, and to put a cherubin’s head, gilt, in the spring of each arche, and in the two side freeses these words: SANCTA SANCTIS on the north, and on the south freese SURSUM CORDA, 5*l*. To make in the pannells over the praying deske at the south pillar these words in large gold letters: IN FIDE FIRMA (the words actually painted were IN PRECE ASSIDUA); and in the same place over the preaching deske opposite to it, in blew and gold letters alike: IN DOCTRINA SANA, 12*s*. The King’s armes over the great west window painted and gilt, with the garter and motto about it, 4 foot square, 15*s*. Over the great east window, a shield, with these words (blank), 5*s*. An escutchion over the doore of the porch to hide the breach thereof with the Bishop’s armes and my Lord’s in a swelling shield, 5*s*. In all, 13*l*. 7*s*. He to find all collours and other materials.’

In connection with this general scheme of polychromatic decoration, as forming a kind of framing for a part, and that a very important part of it, should be mentioned the woodwork directed to be set up across the entire east end, including the aisles. On the 28th of June of the same year, 1664, we have the following agreement entered into with Abraham Smith of Durham, carpenter:—‘To make and sett up the archetrive, frase and pitched cornish and two flatt pillasters with mouldings over and about the Altar table, to the splay of the east window of the middle ile from the ground, in the Chappell of Auckland; to make and sett upp the like worke under both the little east windowes in the said iles, with boards and

mouldings, *to fitt in the hangings* at the bottom of the said Chappell; to make the Communion-table, with two pannells at each end of the table to the ground, with mouldings and the same tracery worke as in the screen pannells; the pannells behinde the table to be plaine, without moulding. To receive for the three articles 4l.'

It was this woodwork that Van Ersell covenanted to paint by the agreement of August 19th. What it was designed to frame, and what the nature of the furniture which both together were meant to set off and display, will best be learned from the following translation of the bishop's own words in Latin, copied from Dr. Raine's work.

A Schedule or Inventory of the Vessels, Books and other Ornaments,²⁴ which we have conferred upon, and have for ever dedicated to, our Chapels in Auckland and Durham:—

Auckland. Two large candlesticks of silver, double gilt, three feet in height, fabricated with embossed work, and to be placed daily upon the Lord's Table.*

A dish of silver, double gilt, upon which is skilfully represented the history of the Supper of our Lord, two feet in diameter.*

A chalice of silver, double gilt, with a twisted stalk and cover, of the like workmanship.*

Two patens of silver, double gilt, with inscriptions from Holy Scripture.*

The Holy Bible in English, beautifully bound, in a cover of crimson velvet, with plates of silver double gilt, and clasps of the same workmanship, in large folio.*

The Liturgy of the Church of England, beautifully bound in a like cover of crimson velvet, with plates of silver double gilt and clasps, in large folio, on imperial paper, ruled with lines of red.*

Two copies of the English Liturgy, bound in purple leather, with tying strings of silk of the same colour, with gilt fringe, of the larger folio.*

A frontal or antependent for the Altar or Lord's Table, of cloth of gold and silver, with a fringe or border, variegated with gold and silk.

A covering for the pedestal (shelf) upon the Lord's Table, of cloth of gold, with a fringe or border, as above.

Two towels for the Lord's Table, and a cover of linen for the Eucharistic chalice.

A cushion of cloth, interwoven with thread of gold, with like tassels, to be placed beneath the Book of the Liturgy on the said altar.

A very large piece of tapestry to hang above the altar, upon which is described the history of the Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon.

Two pictures of churches in perspective work, for each side of the east end of the Chapel.

Two kneeling cushions covered with red cloth and fringed around, for the north and south ends of the altar.

A large cover of thick red cloth to place over the altar and all its ornaments.

²⁴ The objects marked thus * are still preserved.

Two large elbow cushions of cloth, interwoven with thread of gold, with corner tassels, to be placed before the stall of the Bishop and the first stall on the left.

Two elbow cushions of red velvet, scalloped, with silk tassels, for the desks of the reader and preacher, or chaplains.

A faldstool of wood for reading or chanting the Litany, to be placed in the middle of the choir.

Five covers, variegated with red and blue silk, with fringes, to be spread one on the Litany desk, two on the desks of the chaplains, and two on the Bishop's stall and the stall on the left.

A canopy, variegated with red and blue silk, with a silk fringe, to be suspended over the stall of the Bishop.

Eight kneeling-cushions, covered with blue cloth and fringed around, six for the stalls on each side at the entrance of the Chapel and two for the desks of the chaplains.

Twelve surplices, eight for men, the remaining four for the organist, the clerk of the Chapel and the boys attending him.

Two gowns of purple (*meliboei coloris*), one for the organist, the other for the chapel clerk.²⁵

A wind organ.

²⁵ Of Cosin's organ all the particulars we possess are as follows :—'1665, 7 Sep. Paid Van Ersell for additional painting the organ pipes II.' '1665-6, 3 Feb. Paid Marke Todd for makeing the two figures, King David and Aaron, for the organ at Auckland, II Is,' from which we learn that not only painting, but statuary, as seen in so many ancient examples, were considered by the bishop as necessary adjuncts to its completion. That it was on a small scale cannot, I think, judging from the very limited dimensions of its successor, be doubted. The latter, which is merely a choir organ, measuring only two feet ten inches deep, by six feet broad, and about nine feet high, contains but six stops. As in other instruments of that day, the lower keys are black, and the upper, white. The case, which is of oak, is well designed, and consists of a centre and two supporting ends, which contain the larger pipes, and are crowned with mitres, much like the old organ at Durham. The whole of the pipes are brown and red alternately, and covered with richly-gilded arabesques varnished. The mitres, which are red, are also richly gilt. The case itself, well and elaborately carved, is left of the natural colour, now nearly black. In the midst of a mass of perforated scroll work at the base of the central part appear the arms of the see (with the cross plain) impaling Crewe, surmounted by the mitre, shown diagonally, and rising, like the mitres of Ruthall, Tunstall, and those upon the screen stall-ends, from a coronet of strawberry leaves and crosses. The seat for the organist, which is behind, is approached by a narrow passage-way channelled through the thickness of the west wall. You have to step over it, and there is only standing room for one at either end. How far the interior works have been tampered with I cannot say. The balcony, which, like the case, is of oak, is not so artistically carved, though the four rich and boldly-projecting brackets, or consoles, which support it are both well designed and executed. Its dimensions are very small, being only five feet from back to front, and twelve feet ten inches from end to end, in full. It was pretty certainly of local work, while the case would probably be made in London. Outside, in large gilded letters, is inscribed :—

'A° TRANSL. ab oxō: xv°. | NATH: EPISCOPUS DUNELM: | A° CONSECR: xviii°.' This fixes the date of the organ at the year 1688, Crewe having been consecrated to the see of Oxford in 1671, and translated to Durham in 1674.

A picture suspended over the organ, representing musical instruments in the hands of angels.

A picture in perspective, suspended over the Vestry, representing a church.

A picture suspended over the west doorway of the Chapel, representing the front of the Cathedral Church of Wells.

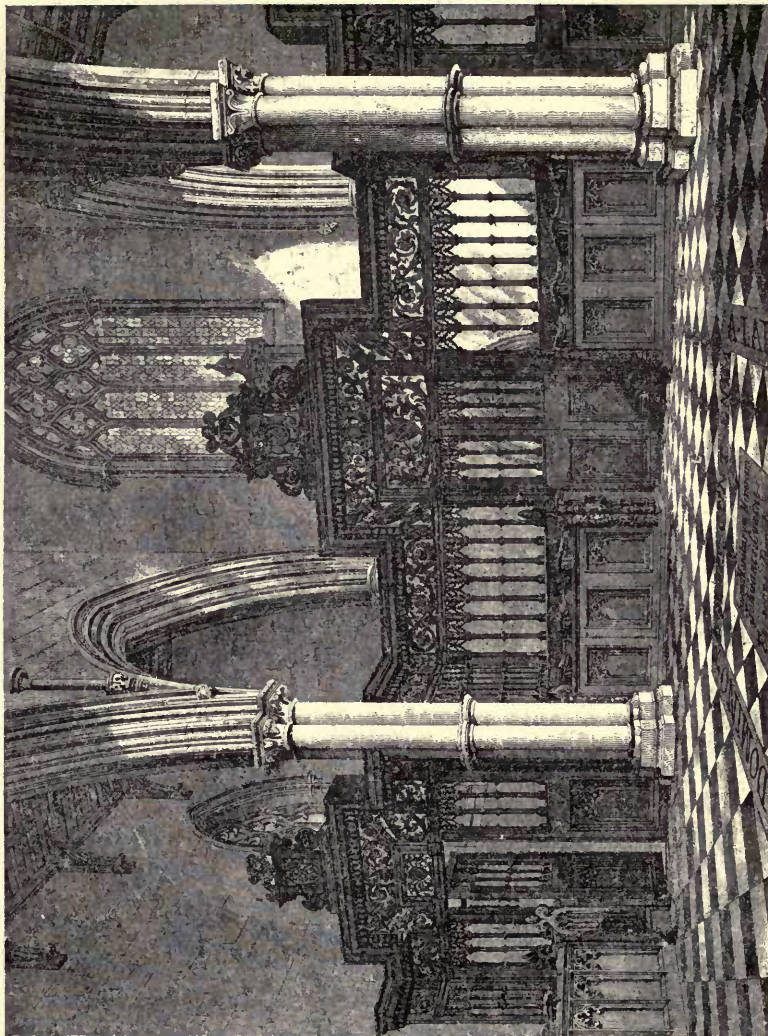
But the decoration, begun in the roof, and continued through the walls, windows, tapestries, pictures, hangings of cloth of gold and silver, golden vessels, and covers and cushions of blue and red silk, were not to terminate even there. As early as November 6th, 1662, the improvement of the floor by laying down a pavement of black and white stone and marble instead of the mere lime concrete, of which it was, till then, composed, was occupying the bishop's mind. 'My Lord desires you,' writes Mr. Arden to Stapylton, in London, 'to send the inclosed to Amsterdame by the Dutch post carefullye, it being about marble stones for his chappell.' The actual agreement for carrying the work into effect was made on May 18th, 1663, with Hendrick de Keyser of Bishop Auckland, sculptor, for 'worke in and about the Chappell. To pave the middle ile within the Chappell with blacke marbell polished, and hewn stone from Brusselton or Hunwicke quarrie, also pollished and layed in manner according to the draught ; to make the steps from the pavement to the altar of black marbell, pollished ; in the midle of the pavement to dig a vault, and to pave and wall the four sides with hewn stone, well joynted ; to provide stones to cover the top to support the large marbell, which is to be uppermost over the vault, the said large marble stone to be polished, and to make steps of hewn stone to descend into the said vault ; to provide at his own cost the necessary black marbell stone and stones from Holland, Newcastle, or elsewhere ; to find hewen stone from Brusselton or Hunwick, to find lime, sand, labourers, workmanship and materials ; to be performed before 16 Jul. next. To receive 8s. per square yard for every yard in the middle ile, the vault included ; to find carriage. Judge of work, Samuel Davison, Esq., with the advice of Robert Morley and Roger Coates, freemasons.'

So complete and thorough, from the orient tinctures of the roof down to the black and white chequers of the floor, nay, even to the purple gowns of the organist and chapel clerk, was the scheme of colour as conceived and carried out by the cultured eye and brain of Cosin.

XI.

But, besides those features of the interior more immediately connected with that subject, there were other, and very important ones which were so only to a limited extent, and which must now be looked to. I mean the stall and screen work, and the praying and preaching desks, with the colour even, as well as with the form and ornamentation of which, we shall see the ever-vigilant and critical eye of the bishop still further occupied. With respect to these, the earliest agreement is that entered into on March 7th, 1663, 'with John Brasse of Durham, joyner, and Abraham Smith of the same, carpenter. To make and erect in the Chappell of Auckland Castle a skreene eleaven foote high, and of the breadth of the said Chappell, according to the modell or draught ; to receive for every yard, the yard 11 foot high and 3 foote broade, 40s.'

This is the truly artistic and magnificent structure which, still happily intact, serves to separate the building in so admirable a way—for which, of course, no structural provision was originally made—into the two essential parts of chapel and ante-chapel. I think it may truly be said to form one of the most admirable and wonderful works of its day. How special and peculiar the circumstances of that day, even if regarded from the point of view of art only, were, we all know. What all do not know, or believe, however, is the correctness of the opinion, too hastily and unscientifically enunciated by Dr. Raine, that Cosin's 'misfortune was to live at a period when church architecture was *at its lowest ebb*, and there was no one to give a right direction to his munificence.' Nor, shall we feel disposed, I think, to acquiesce in the further remarks that he was 'compelled to act as his own architect, *little tho gh he knew of the art* ;' and that, 'if he had not so acted, we probably should have had much greater cause for *censure* !' To speak of a lower ebb in church architecture than has been witnessed by the present century, with its gross burlesques and parodies of that of the Middle Ages, and untold horrors in the shape of stained glass—evils from which Cosin's day, at any rate, was free—needs, surely, such a courage as comes from lack of knowledge only. The special peculiarities and difficulties of the Restoration period were that it was one of total and complete transition. Not such a species of transition



CHAPEL IN THE CASTLE OF AUCKLAND.
LOOKING WEST.

as, for convenience sake, we are accustomed to speak of as occurring between the several so-called *styles* of mediaeval architecture which flowed naturally into each other by gradual process of development, but between two styles which had nothing in common—nay, were at variance in every particular—the indigenous and expiring Gothic, and the revived and imported Classic. And it is the special glory of this particular work, and such others, for example, as the stalls and font-cover at Durham, and the somewhat earlier, but equally admirable fittings of the choir at Brancepeth—all executed under the bishop's more or less absolute supervision and control—that they succeed in blending with such wonderful facility elements so seemingly incongruous, and achieve, without apparent effort, results as happy as they are imposing. In no case, probably, could a more conspicuous illustration of such success be found than in this exceptionally noble screen—admirable alike in arrangement, design, and execution. Not a single feature is there in it which the most exacting eye could wish to see altered, or endeavour to improve upon. And it is as rich and beautiful in colour as felicitous in the composition and distribution of its parts. The consummate taste and judgment of its planning will be best understood from the illustration (see plate XXVII.). As will be perceived, it does not cross the building in a straight line—an arrangement which would prove disastrous to its own effect and that of the chapel at the same time—but in a deeply recessed and broken one, which, while giving wonderful variety, and play of light and shade, as well as of perspective, not only allows the clustered pillars, while utilised as supports, to stand out free, but provides space for the bishop's, and other stalls beyond them also.

Of its three horizontal divisions, the lowest one which is, of course, solid, has its arched panels decorated with the foiled, or fleur-de-lysed cusping, so characteristic of Cosin's work generally. But the second or middle, is filled with pinnacled shafts and tracery so marvellously and purely mediaeval, that it might well belong to the days of Tunstall or of Ruthall. And the third, comprising the frieze with its bold and flowing scroll-work and amorini, and massive dentilled cornice, is just as purely and intensely classic. Yet nothing more thoroughly delightful and satisfactory than the proportions and harmonious combination of these several parts—the boldness, freedom, and play of fancy dis-

played throughout—or the general effect of the work as a whole, could possibly be conceived. Especially happy, however, where all is so admirable, is the depth and impressiveness of that crowning feature the cornice ; and the design and proportion of the three trophies of arms which, both in the centre and side pieces, surmount it. Together they impart a sense of majesty and grace which is beyond praise, and it needs but to picture the removal of either one or other to see how complete the ruin of the whole would instantaneously be.

Whether John Brasse and Abraham Smith were responsible for the design, as well as the execution, of this screen ; or whether ‘the moddell or draught’ after which they were to fabricate it was prepared elsewhere, does not appear. But, judging from the perfect freedom and spontaneity of the work, resembling so closely as it does that of earlier days in such respects, one might well suppose that both were theirs alike.

A good deal of misapprehension has obtained respecting the standards of the six stalls which, three on each side the entrance, occupy the central portion of the screen. In an agreement dated September 1st, 1664, Abraham Smith undertakes, among other things, ‘To make three pannells like those of the skreene, before the deske upon each side of the said skreene, the floores six inches high, surrounded with a moulded base ; the desks to be put betweene the stall ends, whereof two are to be made without any carving, save only the further endes of the desks as far as the reath above it, and the fower stall ends to be wrought over by the carver with his tooles, to appeare like new worke, artificially repairing the mitres and what is decayed, 2*l.* 11*s.*’

As to the ‘pannells and moulded base,’ all is clear enough. The mistakes, and they are not a little curious, as showing what it is possible for people to imagine when told beforehand what they may expect, come in at the stall ends. ‘The stall ends,’ says Dr. Raine, ‘at the right and left of the principal entrance through the screen, which the carver is directed “to work over with his tools to make them appear like new work,” prove that they were fittings in the former chapel, and that the carver was not sparing of his tool work. They must have been of the date of about 1600, or perhaps a little earlier, and of bold workmanship. But the mitres and shields which

they contain have been grievously pared away, the floriations of the cross in the arms of the see have been cut off, and the whole workmanship has been flattened and defaced.²⁶ Astonishing as these utterances are, however, they are far outdone in the account of the chapel contained in the *County of Durham: its Castles, Churches, and Manor Houses*, in which the references to the four stall ends adjoining the screen in Cosin's agreement are transferred *en bloc* to four wholly different ones. 'Four stall ends carved with late Perpendicular tracery on the side,' we there read, 'are no doubt parts of the fittings of the Chapel destroyed by Haslerigg. An agreement with Abraham Smith, carpenter, provides that these stall ends "shall be wrought over by the carver with his tooles to appeare like new worke," and the direction was faithfully carried out!' So, other four stall ends, it seems, were flattened and defaced. But the writer, unfortunately, had got a good deal 'mixed.' Dr. Raine may at least claim the merit, such as it is, of sticking to his text, and applying his description to the proper objects. But *he* misses them altogether, for not

²⁶ The object of the bishop in requiring the four stall ends to be worked over so as to appear like new work was evidently to make them harmonise in colour with the new screen and new front panels of the stalls introduced between them. But the malicious defacement of the mitres and coats-of-arms, objects so specially hateful to Haslerigg and his puritanical satellites, proving too serious to be easily repaired, they were replaced by others wholly new. As to all the rest, since it was cut in such high relief as to render its re-working extremely difficult, it would seem probable that the idea of doing so was abandoned, and the method of treatment first contemplated by the bishop carried out. What that was we learn from an agreement with John Baptist van Ersell, dated 22nd July, some six weeks previously, wherein the latter engaged 'to *painte fower stall ends of the collour of the skreene*,' beyond all doubt the four in question, and this plan, from the absence of all appearance of re-working in the poppy heads, or 'reaths,' as they are called, and in the scroll-work beneath them, would seem, therefore, since both could not be followed, to have been the one really adopted after all.

Van Ersell, by an agreement dated August 19th, just four weeks after this, undertook 'to paint the chaires and desks before them in the two side iles, the stall ends, &c., of the coullor of the new wainscott, with tracery in the pannells before the desks, varnishing the said work,' for £3 10s. By the same instrument he agrees to paint 'the carpinter's worke now sett up at the est end of the Chappell, under the three windows, of a walnutt-tree colour, handsomely vained with fruite downe the pillasters,' etc.

The painting of the woodwork will, therefore, be seen to have been carried out on an extensive scale. And it may not be amiss, perhaps, in this connection, to point out, as showing how keen the bishop's eye for colour, as well as architectural detail, was, that in the former contract, after specifying the various tints, patterns, and amount of leaf gold to be used in the decoration of the roof, he insists on 'the beame adjoyning to the two east arches' (viz., that which marked off the sanctuary) being '*painte of a different collour, if the same shall be chosen*,' evidently declining to settle the point till he had judged of the actual effect.

only do the stall ends he refers to fail to occupy the position specified, but instead of being four only, they are no fewer than twenty in number. And then, so far from ever having belonged to the ancient chapel, they are throughout the work of Cosin's days, and made, not for the use of the bishop and those immediately connected with him, but for that of the congregation generally; and ranged from the first, as at present, not on either side the screen doors facing east, but along the sides of the chapel facing north and south. Besides all which they were already set up before July 23rd, 1664, whereas the agreement to repair the mitres and what was decayed in those mentioned by the bishop, was not entered into till the 1st of September of that year. More than all this, however, they neither have, nor ever have had, either mitres or coats of arms at all, decayed or otherwise, or been at any time wrought over by tools, but are in all respects as fresh and perfect as when they left their maker's hands.²⁷

But such confusion apart, let us turn to the stall ends really indicated by the bishop and described by Dr. Raine, and see to what extent the assertions of the latter are borne out. That they belong to a somewhat earlier date than that of Cosin, though to one not long anterior, is clear enough; and probably Dr. Raine, though disclaiming all pretence to architectural knowledge, is not far wrong in ascribing them to about the year 1600, or a little earlier.²⁸ That

²⁷ The Perpendicular tracery on the sides of these stall ends is, no doubt, wonderfully correct and pure; so much so, indeed, as to lead to the presumption that it must have been copied directly from some such mediaeval original as those at Staindrop or Darlington, which it much resembles. But the correctness of the copy is only one of those traps which serve to catch the unwary; for nothing can be plainer, both from the moulding and thinness of the ends, and the designs of the poppies, which, as in the case of the traceries, are all so exactly alike that they might have been cast out of the same moulds, that they are not older than the times of Cosin. The close copying is seen to be confined to certain features only; the rest make no pretence to copying at all. It adds not a little to the curiosity of the mixture, however, to note that, besides the tracery proper, the transom, which divides the upper from the lower part of the designs, is battlemented precisely as in ancient work, while the front edges of the ends are embellished with attached quasi-buttresses, much in the same way as those of Ruthall in the chapel of Durham castle.

²⁸ It would be as interesting to know, as it is impossible to help questioning, the authorship of these curious stall ends. Two things only concerning them are certain, viz., that they are both earlier, and considerably earlier, than the days of Cosin, and later than those of Tunstall. How much earlier, and how much later, is, however, a crux, the solution of which is as difficult to achieve as uncertain when achieved. Yet it is one, perhaps, which, if impossible definitely to arrive at, may, at any rate, be approached by a process of exhaustion. Unfortunately, the times were so entirely those of flux and upheaval, and in

they not only came from the destroyed chapel as he supposes, but in all likelihood occupied also corresponding positions in it, may be conjectured, I think, from the fact that, while the exterior sides of two of them are richly carved, the corresponding sides of the two others are left plain, because, being placed originally against the

which so much was left to the arbitrament of individual taste and caprice, that there is no definite standard whereby to gauge particular examples. And therein lies the artistic difficulty.

The historical one, however, is somewhat less. If out of six possible intermediate bishops we cannot certainly say to which one they were due, we can at least, I think, say to which they were not. Of these, the first, Pilkington, is, of course, quite out of the question. A thorough-paced Puritan, with all the distinguishing characteristics of his tribe, a hater of church doctrine and discipline, a wholesale waster of church goods, an aider and abettor of sacrilegious rapine, turning the proceeds of his spoiliations to his own use and the aggrandizement of his daughters' fortunes; buried, as is said, without religious service, like a dog, and, finally, covered with a stolen tombstone, thus carrying his 'ravenous sacrilege' even to the grave, he was certainly not one to spend anything on the fittings of the chapel.

Nor was his like-minded, if less flagrant, successor, Barnes, to whom his own cathedral-church of Durham was, as he tells us, an '*Augie Stabulum*, whose stinke is grievous in the nose of God and man, and which to purge far passeth Hercules' labour,' more likely to do anything in that line.

Nor could the more respectable Matthew Hutton, 'tarred,' as he was, 'with the same stick,' be expected to do much for the honour of God's house, his business being rather to found one for himself and his family at Marske.

Tobias Matthew, 1595-1606, might, not at all improbably, have caused their erection, and with his period their decoration, which has a distinctly Elizabethan character, would agree very well indeed—better, perhaps, than any other. But we hear of no such works being effected by this bishop.

William James, 1606-1617, who followed, was another Puritan, and need not, therefore, trouble us. There remains then only Richard Neile, 1617-1627, who in the latter year underwent the same parliamentary censure as Laud 'for favouring Popish doctrines and ceremonies.' As dean of Westminster, Neile had spent vast sums upon the abbey church, while as bishop of Durham, he is said to have expended nearly three thousand pounds in repairing and ornamenting the palace at Auckland. Among the other objects of his solicitude there was the chapel.

'As touching bills paid to Lockey,' he writes, 'I wish workmen should be truly paid, for I make a conscience of due and timelie payment of the laborers' hire. But I doo not remember what I appoynted Jo. Lockey to doo that should amounte to 26*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, and 8*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*, in regard that I paid him at Richmond 5*l.* of his agreement with me for the east window of Auckland Chappell.'

'Touching Barnard, the glass painter of Wetherby, I doubt he expected to have had some directions from me for his worke, which, it may be he hath omitted, for that he hath not heard from me, which in truth I have not hitherto had leisure to thinke of.' 20th December, 1621.

Here, then, we have a bishop of another stamp altogether, and one who could say, 'Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth,' with a clear conscience. It was he, too, who brought Cosin with him to Durham as his domestic chaplain, and to him, I think, since the details of the work are quite patient of such a date, the stall ends in question might be referred equally well as to Matthew. But the point is a very difficult one which I cannot satisfactorily decide. Externally, or historically, the evidence would seem to be in favour of the former; internally, and from the point of view of art only, to the latter prelate.

walls as now against the pillars, their surfaces could not aforetime, any more than at present, be seen. But when we have said this we have said all ; for Dr. Raine's fancy has run away with him as completely in this, the *right* case, as the other writer's his, in the *wrong* one. With the bishop's directions and Dr. Raine's words alike in view, I have examined the stall ends in question with the closest attention, and with this result, that so far from the mitres and shields having been 'grievously pared away' as alleged, neither they nor any other parts of the work show the faintest trace of any flattening or defacement whatever.²⁹ Nor, indeed, was it possible that they should do so. For, as I speedily discovered, Abraham Smith had

²⁹ It is observable that the design of the coronets from which the mitres on these stall ends spring, consists of strawberry leaves and crosses. The same diversity of treatment is seen to exist indeed in the forms of the coronets, as in those of the crosses in the arms of the see. Hatfield, Fordham, and Nevill are shown on their great seals on horseback and in armour, with mitres rising from comparatively plain fleur-de-lysed coronets. That attached to Dudley's mitre, which appears singly upon a seal, is of the most splendid description, being composed of great strawberry leaves, with small intermediate fleurs-de-lys, and closely resembling the magnificent crowns worn by king Henry IV., and Johanna of Navarre, on their tombs at Canterbury. The mitre coronets of Ruthall, as they appear upon his work at Auckland, and the stall ends removed from the chapel there to that in Durham castle, are also of the most imposing and grandiose character. They vary, however, as well from previous ones, as from each other. Thus, on one of his stall ends, viz.: that from which the grand ancient finial containing the figure of the 'Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars,' was most unhappily removed by bishop Cosin in concession to the rampant Puritan infidelity of his day, we see the simpler form exhibited in the earlier instances of greater and less fleurs-de-lys arranged alternately. On another, viz.: that where the carver, cutting from the matrix of a seal, has placed his personal arms to the dexter, instead of sinister to those of the see, and where the mitre appears of enormous size and excessive richness, the coronet, which is set thick with jewels, is composed of alternate crosses and strawberry leaves, between which are set clusters of three pearls, exactly as on the coronets of Ralph, first earl of Westmoreland's two countesses, at Staindrop church. Crosses and fleur-de-lys appear alternately upon the coronets of his mitres at Auckland, as well as on those of Tunstall at the same place. Just the same amount of licence, indeed, would seem to have prevailed in these ornamental details of the episcopal coronets as in those of the various orders of nobility, and of the sovereign himself, during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries ; no two, perhaps, being in all respects alike, and those of the same prelate varying from time to time, according to circumstances, and the taste of the designer.

And it is interesting to find not only Cosin himself, in whose days the renewed mitres were executed, but his post-Reformation predecessor also, whoever he may have been, whose coronets were very probably copied by Abraham Smith, adopting the strawberry leaves and crosses of Ruthall. Equally interesting is it also to find the same form continued by Cosin's successor Crewe, on his achievement of arms upon his organ case.

Since then, generally, if not universally, the use of the modern stereotyped form of ducal coronet, consisting of strawberry leaves only, has been followed by the bishops as princes, or counts palatine, up to the latest holder of that dignity, Van Mildert.

'artificially' repaired both the mitres and coats of arms, not by any process of patching or flattening and defacing at all, but by the far more effectual and radical one of cutting them off altogether, and applying brand new ones in their stead. Nor was that all. Not only were the new shields discovered to be attached by iron points to the stall ends, but the crosses in the arms of the see, instead of being 'flattened,' or having had their floriated extremities destroyed in the process of retooling, as alleged by Dr. Raine, were seen to be attached to the shields in precisely the same way as *they* were to the stall ends. Like the shields themselves they were, of course, quite new, and the excision of any quondam floriated terminations becomes therefore as purely fictitious and imaginary as the flattening and defacement of the mitres. As a matter of fact, such floriated terminations never either did, or were intended to, appear upon them. And had Dr. Raine during his singularly uncritical examination only raised his eyes to the roof above his head, he would have seen precisely the same sort of simple unfloriated crosses repeated there in the arms of the see³⁰ from end to end of it, and, no doubt—dropped his groundless charge of mutilation against poor Abraham at once.

³⁰ The change of form which the cross in the arms of the see has undergone from time to time is not a little curious, and, save on the ground that it was held to be a matter indifferent, difficult of explanation. It has been asserted that, previous to the 'Reformation,' it appeared as a cross fleurie, *i.e.*, a straight-sided cross, the ends of which finish in, or like, a fleur-de-lys; afterwards as a plain cross. And this form of fleurie has, still further to complicate matters, been sometimes but quite wrongly described as patonce, since the limbs of a cross patonce, as the name implies, expand broadly from the centre to the extremities, where they also assume a fleur-de-lys shape. But a cross of this kind never occurs in the arms of the see of Durham. The earliest example of a cross at all in this connection, probably, is that seen on the private seal of bishop Hatfield, 1345-1381, where, assuming the moline form, it appears alone and without any lions in a shield on the dexter side of his effigy, his own arms being displayed on a shield on the sinister side. Its earliest appearance in connection with lions probably is in a shield on the east front of the old Exchequer buildings, now the University Library, erected by bishop Nevill, 1438-1457, where, perfectly plain, it occurs on a bordered shield accompanying that of Nevill, with the crest of the bull's head. Bishop Nevill also uses a plain cross between four lions to the left of his effigy on his seal; his own arms below in centre, and to the right a shield with the same bearings as those of Hatfield, *viz.*, a chevron between three lions rampant. The next appearance of the lions between the arms of the cross, so far as I know, is found on the seal of bishop Dudley, 1476-1483, where they are seen on a shield bearing a plain cross to the bishop's right; his own arms, *viz.*, two lions pass. guard. quartering a cross fleurie, being placed to the left.

Then, on the obverse of the great chancery seal of bishop Fox, 1494-1502, we see the bishop on horseback carrying a shield charged with a plain cross between four lions, impaling his own proper arms of the pelican. On the

But besides the screen, the bench ends, and the panelled fronts, there still remain the six stalls to claim some brief notice. And it

reverse, to the right of his effigy, the plain cross again appears between the lions on the arms of the see; to the left, his pelican; while beneath his feet the same plain form of cross in the arms of the see impaling the pelican is displayed as fimbriated.

Next, William Sever or Senows, 1502-1505, bears on his seal a plain cross between four lions as the arms of the see to the right of his effigy, his own personal arms being displayed to the left.

Thomas Ruthall, 1509-1523, throughout adopted the cross fleurie between the lions as the arms of the see, both on his seal, on the bay window of his dining room at Auckland, and on his stall ends in the chapel of Durham castle. But it is not a little remarkable that, while at the north end of the window the arms of the see appear thus, on a corresponding shield at the south end is displayed a plain cross without any lions at all, much as on the seal of bishop Hatfield.

The plain cross appears again, however, on the great seal of bishop Tunstall, 1530-1559, where it is displayed on the shield which he carries on horseback, though on the other side of the same seal the cross appears thrice as moline. On the exterior stonework of his gallery at Durham castle the cross appears as fleurie, thus showing that the same prelate made use of no less than three different forms, plain on his shield, moline on the reverse of his seal, and fleurie on his buildings. On the upper part of the bay window of the dining room at Auckland, commenced by Ruthall but finished by Tunstall, the cross in the arms of the see is plain.

Thus much for the pre-Reformation use. Now for that adopted subsequently. In the first place then—so far as I have yet been able to pursue it—we see Barnes making use of the cross fleurie in the arms of the see on the seal of his spiritual chancellor in 1577.

After this, we find on the chimney piece of the senate-room in Durham castle, on either side the royal arms, two shields; the first, on the heraldic right, bearing the arms of the see, with the cross fleurie, impaling those of bishop James, 1606-1617; the second, on the heraldic left, bearing the same arms, but with the cross plain. From this also it would seem clear that, at that time too, as before, no importance whatever was attached to the form of the cross—the same bishop using both forms at the same time, and in the same work.

The cross fleurie was also used by Cosin in the interior woodwork of the chapel, and elsewhere, as on a leaden spout head, bearing the arms of the see only, but dated 1661. And on another, dated 1699, we find Crewe again adopting the same form of cross. Yet both these bishops used the plain cross in the same building; Cosin in the stonework in the courtyard, and Crewe on the painted achievements inside.

So too, among several painted and gilt wooden corbels of the chapel roof, where the cross fleurie appears in conjunction with the lions, is one with a plain cross impaling *az.* a lion rampant *arg.*—Crewe. The same form is used also in his arms upon the organ in Auckland chapel.

Trevor again, used the plain cross on his beautiful monument in the same building, as also upon the additions made by him to the castle, and the same form was adopted generally, if not always, both by Barrington and Van Mildert.

According to *Tonge's Visitation*, 1530, the arms of the monastery of Durham, and of St. Cuthbert, were:—*Azure*, a cross fleurie *or*, between four lions rampant *argent*. Those of the priory of Nostell and of St. Oswald:—*Gules*, a plain cross between four lions rampant *or*. The question arises then, whether the plain cross could have pointed to St. Oswald, and the cross fleurie to St. Cuthbert: the one, that is, to the occupant of the see as prince, the other, as bishop? However this may be, nothing can be plainer than the fact that, all along, till quite our own times—when the plain cross has come in practice to be used exclusively—the two forms have appeared indifferently, and, as might seem, just according to the caprice of the die-sinker, or carver, as the case might be.

is not a little curious to note how, though the whole appear to go so naturally together, they were yet not only made at different times, but derived from at least three different sources. First, we have the screen proper, the work of John Brasse and Abraham Smith, jointly, whose contract bears date 7th March, 1663. Then the stall ends, made originally, as the arms and mitres show, for the bishop's stall in the ancient chapel, and which Abraham Smith agrees both to 'restore' and to make the new panels in front of the desks between them, 1st September, 1664. And then the six 'chaires,' or stalls, in question, which 'Marke Todd and James Hulle, joyners,' undertake to make of 'wenscoate gross worke of the fashion of the chaires now in the Chappell at Durham Castle,' and of which it is specified that 'the seates must be to turne up, with a little seate when turned up, and carving underneath it,' and which was only contracted for on May 29th, 1665. Of this last clause it may, at any rate, be said, and with perfect accuracy, that it '*was faithfully carried out.*' For the seats—and the subject affords a further illustration of the bishop's devotion to ancient methods—do turn up, as required, and are duly carved with very well designed and varied details. On the north side, the first bears the arms of Cosin, enriched with roses. The second, a lion, with roses. The third, fruit, with roses. On the south (or bishop's) side, the first, the arms of Cosin, with roses. The second, an eagle, with roses. The third, again, fruit, with roses.³¹ All which being inter-

³¹ Roses are also introduced on all the elbows of these stalls, on the preaching and praying desks, and of very large size, in high relief, incurved, and magnificently sculptured, on the fine west doors. Whether their presence in all these places was purely accidental, or had some special significance, seems difficult to say. The very remarkable display of the flower on Ruthall's bay window, again, cannot fail to attract notice. It is four times repeated on solid panels at the ends; and the arms of the see, and the same impaling his own, towards the front, appear encircled in wreaths of roses. But there, perhaps, they may have a personal and heraldic import only, since they may but emphasize the two slipped roses which appear on a chief in the Ruthall arms. Even there, however, some further meaning may have been intended to be attached to them, for the rose was certainly used as a religious emblem. Two examples in brass may be instanced—one, beneath the effigy of a priest at S. Peter's, near S. Alban's, the other, with an inscription, formerly at Edlesborough, Buckinghamshire—both of the early part of the fifteenth century, and both bearing the following inscription, of which the first word, 'Ecce,' appears in the centre of the flower, the rest, round the edges of the petals :—

'Ecce quod expendi habui, quod donavi habeo, quod
negavi punior, quod servavi perdidit.'

preted may, and perhaps might be meant to, read as, 'John Cosin, bishop of Durham, fruitful in good works;' the eagle (as in the roof) standing for John; the shield (also as in the roof) for Cosin; the lion from the arms of the see, his office as bishop; and the flowers mingled with fruit, his character.

But the screen, and these western stalls attached to it, though by far the finest parts of Cosin's fittings now remaining, served yet but as an introduction to those which lined the walls of the chapel on each side, and of which we must now take account.

By an agreement made July 23rd, 1664, Abraham Smith of Durham, carpenter, agrees—'To wainscott the walls of the side iles of the Chappell from the side window soles downwards to the topp of the *chairs as they are now sett*, with billextills and tracery within the pannells of the said wainscott, like those now made on the outside of the skreen, with a cornish thereon, according to the draught, with teeth and beads thereto, the said wainscott and cornish to be the whole length of the chaires, only in the uppermost pannells adjoyning to the said skreene

Here, no doubt, they symbolize the transitory nature of the life of man, who 'cometh up and is cut down like a flower.' The same idea is also expressed in an inscription at Bisham, Berkshire, 1581:—

**'Vt Rosa mane viget, tamen et mox vespere languet,
Sic modo qui fuimus, pulvis et umbra sumus.'**

And again, on the tomb of John Marshall, canon of Lincoln cathedral, 1446:—

'Ut rosa pallescit, cum solem sentit abesse;
Sic homo vanescit; nunc est, nunc desinit esse.'

Which remind us of those lines of George Herbert:—

'Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and skie:
The dew shall weep thy fall to-night,
For thou must die.

Sweet rose, whose hue angrie and brave,
Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye,
Thy root is ever in its grave,
And thou must die.'

At Ashford, in Kent, an angel holding an inscription is encircled by a wreath with roses sprouting from it; while in the canopy of the brass of abbot Kirton, 1460, at Westminster, was a rose inscribed '*Maria*,' its centre bearing the monogram '*ihc*,' with a crown over it, and round it the words:—

'Sis rosa flos florum morbis medicina reorum.'

Among other instances innumerable, the rose slipped occurs on the elbows of the stalls at Pulham church, Norfolk, and is seen wonderfully expanded at the connecting angles of the western and side stalls at Staindrop church, Durham.

is to be the same worke, with ballaceters and tracery archatrive, carved fre and cornish, wrought on one side suitable to the skreene, and of the same hight, and at the two east ends of the said wainscott worke, adjoyning to the two pannills next to the said chaires, rising upon the second stepp in the side ile, is to be sett a pillaster with a peddaccill base and cappitall, ornamentall to the said work; to receive for the wainscott worke, 3s. per square yard, and for the cornish, 1s. 6d. a yard, running measure, and for the wainscott adjoyning to each side of the skreene and the pillasters with peddicills etc., towards the east end of the said Chappell, 30s., which are to be excepted in a measure of 3s. a yard. To find wainstcott, nayles and glew.' In reference to this work, and that about the screen, there appears on the back of the agreement, as follows:—'Paid Abraham Smyth in parte for works at Auckland:—1663. March. The screene, 5*l*.—May 1664. Screene, 15*l*. June 1664. Skreen, 5*l*. More 2*l*.—July 1664. Skreene, 4*l*.—More 3*l*.—34*l*. The wenscoate in the side iles and other worke. 1664, Aug. In three places, 6*l*. Sept. 15*l*.—Oct. 1664, 10*l*., &c. In May 1665, 5*l*., &c. In all, 125*l*.'

As the whole of these items added together, however, come only to £82, instead of £125, little wonder that, if the other accounts were kept in the same fashion, they should, as Mr. Arden puts it 'somewhat distract my Lord's judgment of them!'

Not too intelligible at the best of times, perhaps, the account of the work to be done about the stalls and panelling of the aisles is considerably less so, now that much of it is altogether destroyed, and the rest greatly added to and altered. At present, the stalls themselves, twenty-four in number on each side, extend from end to end in long unbroken lines. As set up by Cosin they occupied a lower level than they do now, being set on the floor of the aisles which then, as of old, up to the altar platform, was two steps below that of the central choir. Originally, only fourteen of them on either side had closed panels in front; but when, in 1827, the aisle floors were raised by bishop Van Mildert, the remainder were provided with the like, and in exact facsimile. It is interesting to know that the oak required for the purpose came, as Dr. Raine tells us, from the floor of the 'black room' in Durham castle, cut off by bishop Neile from the north end of the Great Hall there.

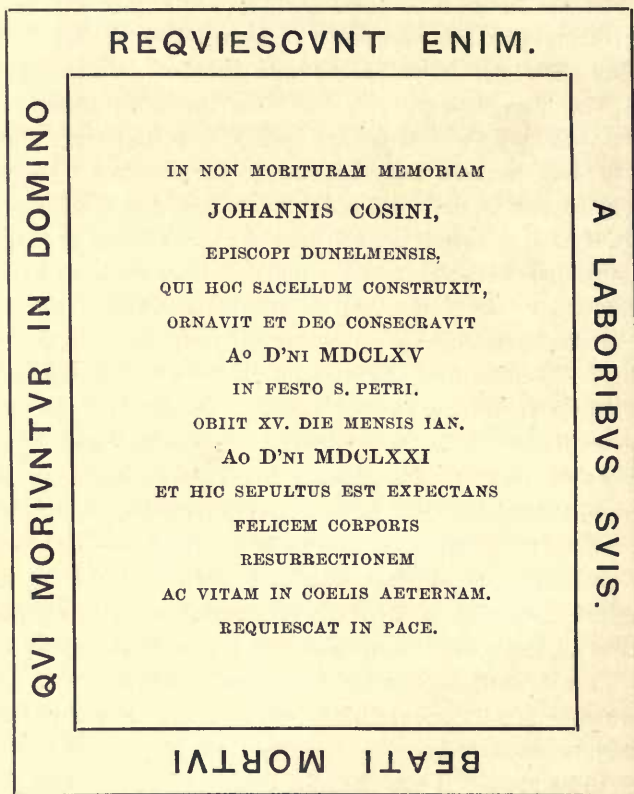
It is the standards of these particular side stalls which, notwithstanding that they are twenty in number instead of four (two of the latter plain) and covered with simple Perpendicular tracery instead of mitres and coats of arms, that the author of *The County of Durham*, etc., confuses with those adjoining the screen, and assures us from his own personal observation, how the bishop's directions concerning their retooling was *faithfully performed* !

Other fittings, however, besides these stalls, were, according to the fashion of the day, deemed necessary. It was not enough that, as of old, the prayers should be said simply from one or other of the stalls—a special and distinct praying desk must be erected. And then, in order that the 'word preached' should suffer no loss of honour, a fellow, in all respects correspondent, must be found, not as afterwards, indeed, to overtop—only to balance, it. Accordingly, Abraham Smith, of Durham, carpenter, again, by an agreement made 1st September, 1664, undertakes 'artificially to make the praying deske before the middle south collume in Auckland Chappell ; the floor from the pavement to be twenty inches high, with two wainscott pannells with tracery and bilextills, according to the fashion of the pannells of the skreene, with a close tennett under the sayd pannells for the chappell clarke to sit and kneele before it ; the seat within to be a yard and six inches wide from the backe, and 4 foot long, with a deske made of the upper moulding or cornish without on the topp of the pannell, and a flatt board of 6 inches within, between four stall ends of 7 or 8 inches broad, and about 4 ft. 7 high, flower de luces, and all the backe pannell of the same fashion of the fore pannell, with tracery and bilextiles, with the finishing of a cherubin's head as on the top of the lower skreenes, to reach up to the girth of the said collume, with a canted stepp to rise upp into the said deske, and carved fruitage on each of the said stall ends, 2*l*.—And the like in all the particulars to be placed against the opposit collome for a preaching deske, 2*l*.—To make two little pannells like unto the skreene before each of the further columnes, with desk and backes every way suitable to the praying and preaching deske, upon a floore 6 inches high from the pavement, with no seates before them, both, 3*l*. 10*s*.'

Of all these several works, so complete and comprehensive, contracted for by the bishop, though many still remain, many, on the

other hand, have disappeared altogether. Among the latter may be included the whole of the woodwork and tapestry at the east end, as well as all that beneath the windows of the side aisles, and between them and the backs of the stalls. The latter, probably, perished during the mischievous alterations of bishop Van Mildert in 1827, when the stalls were raised along with the floors which supported them. The 'two little pannells like unto the skreen before each of the further columnes with deske and backes,' have also gone. So, too, have the 'bleu pannells and skutchins in the side iles between the windows,' as well as the royal arms at the west, and the bishop's at the east, ends of the chapel. The faldstool 'for reading or chaunting the Litany' has vanished from the middle of the choir, as have also the 'wind organ,' the picture over it representing musical instruments in the hands of angels, the pictures over the vestry and west doorways, and the 'escutchion over the doore of the porch, with the bishop's armes and my Lord's in a swelling shield.' The whole of the glazing, save some of that in the west window, has also perished. In Van Mildert's new glass, however, among much poor wishy-washy stuff, the fret of Cosin has been very creditably perpetuated, though with a stupid reversal of the tinctures, the fret being shown blue, and the field white. The magnificent altar plate and service books, however, are still perfectly preserved, as are the stalls, praying and preaching desks, and above all, the noble screen, as perfect almost as on the day it was set up. I say almost, because the shield immediately above the central gates which originally, and rightfully, displayed the arms of Cosin, has since been removed, and another, bearing those of bishop Van Mildert inserted in its place. It was intended, doubtless, to commemorate the last-named prelate's works of general 'restoration,' even then synonymous with destruction, and which are said to have cost £1,500. They included, besides the alteration of the stalls, and renewing of the stonework, the relaying of the floor which, owing partly, perhaps, to neglect, and partly to damp, had gone greatly to decay. This was carried out mainly after the original fashion, with black stone from Bangor in North Wales, and white, from Heathery Cleugh, near Stanhope; but many blocks of the latter, after less than seventy years service, are fretting away again. Van Mildert, also, very properly, caused the inscriptions, above and around Cosin's resting place, to be

carefully recut. They were written by the bishop himself, and engraved before his death, *lacunae* only being left for dates, and are as follows : —



It seems somewhat strange that the late bishop Lightfoot should take exception to the wording of this inscription as savouring of vain-glorious ostentation. 'Cosin,' says he (*Historical Essays*), 'was a most munificent prelate, and he acted right nobly by the episcopal residences of Durham and Auckland, but he was little disposed to allow his light to be hidden under a bushel. Cosin did very much repairing and remodelling, but little or nothing which can strictly be called rebuilding. The man who caused to be inscribed on his tombstone, 'In non morituram memoriam Johannis Cosini,' could

have had no scruple in parading his own achievements, and this spirit of vaunting led him to exaggerate the destructiveness of others.' And in illustration he adduces Cosin's statements of the manor-houses or the castles having been 'of late ruined and almost utterly destroyed by the ravenous sacrilege of Sir Arthur Haslerigg;' and elsewhere, speaking of himself, as 'repairing and rebuilding the Castle of Auckland, which was pul'd downe and ruined by Sir Arthur Haselrig;' and, still further, alleging that 'the usurpers, Sir A. Haselrig and others had ruin'd' his two castles of Durham and Auckland.

But surely Cosin, who not only lived at the time and was an eye-witness to the destruction, *but was also called upon to make it good*, must have been far better qualified, than anyone can now pretend to be, to judge of the nature and extent of that which he describes. Walls and roofs may still be standing long after a house has ceased to be habitable, and destruction may be none the less real because they remain to bear witness to it. Like Dr. Donne (*Essay*, page 221), they can preach their own funeral sermons in language far more eloquent than any others.' Besides, should not the bishop in his reflections on Cosin's statements—however just and true from his own standpoint, and habit of weighing the literal and exact force of words—have remembered of what very recent date such practice is, and how unscientific, as well as unjust therefore, the application of it to writings so remote as those of Cosin?

Nothing, we know, was commoner in mediaeval times than to describe buildings which had been damaged by fire, or at all seriously injured, as having been '*consumed*' or destroyed, where, as existing remains show, only very partial ruin had occurred. Take, for example, Symeon's account of the Danish invasions and the destruction wrought by them in the eighth century. What a picture of wholesale and sweeping devastation—a *tabula rasa* of things ecclesiastical does it not present?—'*Denique postquam scaevissima paganorum devastatio gladio ac flamma ecclesias ac monasteria in cineres redegerat deficiente pene Christianitate, vix aliquae ecclesiae et haec virgis fenoque contextae sed nulla uspiam monasteria per cc annos reaedicabantur.*' Yet true, assuredly, as this witness is in its general bearings, what do the remains of the monastic churches of Jarrow and Wearmouth—still actually standing above a thousand years after the event described,

declare to us ? Why simply this, that, as might naturally be expected, they were merely fired, and then abandoned. All that perished was the woodwork, and even that, perhaps, not entirely. The marauders never dreamt of troubling themselves with the senseless and unprofitable labour of digging down the stone walls. To say nothing of the trouble, they had far more lucrative and pleasurable employment to engage them. And so, doubtless, in all, or nearly all, such other cases. Walls which, after standing roofless for a couple of centuries, are still, after over eight centuries of renewed occupation, sound and good, cannot, it is clear, have been very materially injured—let alone *incinerated*.

Again, at Canterbury, the monk Gervase, a contemporary and eye-witness of the circumstances he narrates, tells us how ‘in the year of grace one thousand one hundred and seventy four, the glorious choir of Conrad was by the just but occult judgment of God *consumed* by fire,’ and so, that which had been hitherto delightful as a paradise of pleasure, was now made *a despicable heap of ashes*.’ But what, according to his own showing, were the literal and exact facts ? The wooden roof was destroyed, it is true, but the whole of the walls were left standing even to the top of the clearstoreys. Naturally, as in all such cases, the pillars suffered most severely through the blazing beams falling and burning against them ; yet even they were not considered by several of the architects, French and English, who were called into consultation, to be beyond repair. And this they proposed to effect ‘*without mischief to the walls above*.’ William of Sens, however, one of the number, with as keen an eye to art as to business, proposed, as soon as the monks were calm enough to entertain the suggestion, their entire removal ; and to this course he eventually persuaded them. But this rebuilding—which provided also for the insertion of a groined vault—was confined strictly to the inner walls ; the outer walls, with the chapels of S. Andrew and S. Anselm, being suffered to remain—as, indeed, they do still. And thus it happened that Gervase, after again describing the work as having been ‘*miserably consumed by fire*,’ proceeds to speak of it further on as ‘the church which we are going to pull down !’

The cathedral church of Chichester, too, affords another, and still more striking, illustration. Built, and completed by bishop Ralph in

1108, it was burnt in 1186, and restored by bishop Seffrid II. (1180-1204). Speaking of this fire, Matthew Paris tells us that it ‘*consumed* the mother church and the whole town;’ and bishop Reade’s Register, that Seffrid *re-edified* the church of Chichester:—‘Saufridus Episcopus Cicestriae qui Ecclesiam Cicestresem post incendium magnum sumptibus innumeris reaedificavit.’ Yet nothing of the kind, literally construed, happened. Not only were the walls left standing to their full height, but even parts of the timbers of the roof escaped and still remain to witness to the fact. All that was—not *needed*, for of that we have no proof—but done, was the renewing of the outer order of the pier arches, and rebuilding, in a more ornate fashion, of the interior surface of the clearstorey windows,—the vaulted roof and supporting shafts which were then inserted, being wholly new features, and introduced for the first time. In simple fact, the larger part of the woodwork only was destroyed, and parts of the, *perhaps*, slightly injured stonework, replaced in the newer style.

But, as remarkable an example of the use of sweeping terms applied to works of mere architectural alteration or repair as can be found anywhere, perhaps, is one which occurs, not in the pages of any mere chronicler of events with which he was only indirectly connected, but with the author himself, and that in the place of all others in which conscious abuse of terms should least of all be looked for—the inscription on his tomb. It is, or was formerly, to be seen on the splendid alabaster monument of Nicholas Fitzherbert, in Norbury church, Derbyshire. According to Le Neve (*Monumental Inscriptions*), it ran thus:—

‘An. Mcccc seventy and three
 Years of our Lord passed in degree
 The body that bury’d is under this stone
 Of Nichol Fitzherbert, Lord and Patrone
 Of Norbury

.
 This church he made at his own expense,
 In the joy of heaven be his recompence.’

What could possibly be simpler, more precise or definite than this? But for the internal evidence of the building itself to the contrary, any, nay every, one would run away with the idea that the writer was the founder and constructor of the building. Nothing, however, could

be further from the fact. The church itself, which is one of great interest and beauty, consists of a clearstoreyed nave with north and south aisles ; an engaged south tower ; and a magnificent chancel of four bays, nearly as long as the body of the church, and slightly higher than the clearstorey. Of different dates, the whole building is yet far earlier than the days of Nicholas Fitzherbert, the chancel in particular—whose splendid subarcuated windows occupy the whole wall space between the buttresses—belonging to the early part of the fourteenth century, or *circa* 1310-15. What then, it may well be asked, did Nicholas Fitzherbert do to warrant the statement that he ‘*made*’ the church ? The answer is as brief and direct as the allegation. He simply placed new and flat wooden roofs over the nave and chancel ; built, or rebuilt, two small mortuary chapels ; placed a parapet on the south side of the chancel, and inserted divers quarries bearing his initials in the chancel windows. As to the main body of the fabric including the tower, so far from having ‘*made*’ it, he just left it as he found it—untouched.

The ‘*made*’ we see, means, and was meant to mean, nothing more than made serviceable, or put into good repair. And such, as aforetime, was then, and long afterwards—down well nigh to our own days, indeed—continued to be the common application of such phrases. It never occurred to anyone, apparently, to submit every word to a species of literary analysis, or express themselves with a rigidly exact and etymological precision. *Autres temps, autres mœurs*. People neither dreamt of understanding others, or being themselves understood, or misunderstood, in any such fashion, and ‘*destroy*,’ or ‘*consume*,’ seldom or never meant—annihilate.

Cosin, like other great men, and especially churchmen, has had his detractors, but none, I think, has ever ventured to suggest that he was a fool. Yet, fool and nothing else must he have been if, in the midst of countless eye-witnesses to the facts, he ventured to publish, and that for the express purpose of general edification, expressions such as these, unless they were both true and known to be true in the sense in which he wrote, and all who read understood, them at the time. True, bishop Lightfoot would never have allowed himself to use such words in describing such events ; but then he lived and wrote in the nineteenth, Cosin, in the seventeenth, century.

And as to the inscription—however it may read, whatever spirit may seem to breathe in it to others—I, for one, can certainly see no taint of arrogancy in it. ‘In perpetual, or undying memory!’ What can be simpler or more natural? The voice comes from the grave; appeals only against forgetfulness; and thus, though indirectly, echoes the older and more personal—‘Orate pro anima.’

The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.—Psalm cxii. 6.

It is all he asks for.—

‘*Es testis Christe: quod non iacet hic lapis iste
Corpus ut ornetur: sed spiritus ut memoretur.
Hinc tu qui trans’is, magnus, medius, puer ansis:
Pro me funde preces, dabitur michi sic venie spes.*’

After all the cost and labour he had bestowed upon it, the bishop was especially anxious that his own body should be the first to be interred within the walls of the chapel. In this hope, however, he was disappointed; and great was his annoyance to find how, during his absence in London, that of his son-in-law, Mr. Davison, without either his knowledge or consent, had been buried there before him. ‘But,’ as he writes to his steward, ‘since Mr. Davenport and my daughter, together with yourselfe, have thus clap’t up the matter, which cannot be now undone againe, I must be content to let it bee as it is, and say *Requiescat in pace.*’

Other monument than the chapel itself Cosin has none; and Wren’s famous, ‘Si monumentum quaeris, circumspeice,’ at S. Paul’s, might with equal truth be written on his simple gravestone here. The only other worth notice, indeed, almost the only one at all, is the very striking and beautiful effigy of bishop Trevor (1752-1771), in white and grey Sicilian marble, by Nollekens, which occupies the south-western angle of the ante-chapel. He is shown seated in a niche or alcove; and as Dr. Raine well says, ‘the mild and devout expression manifested in his countenance seems to justify the appellation by which according to persons with whom I have conversed, and who well recollected him, he was universally known in his diocese, “The Beauty of Holiness.”’ With this monument, and designation, which so concisely sums up its characteristics, we take our leave of the interior—the most solemn, religious, and artistically perfect of its kind to be met with far or near.

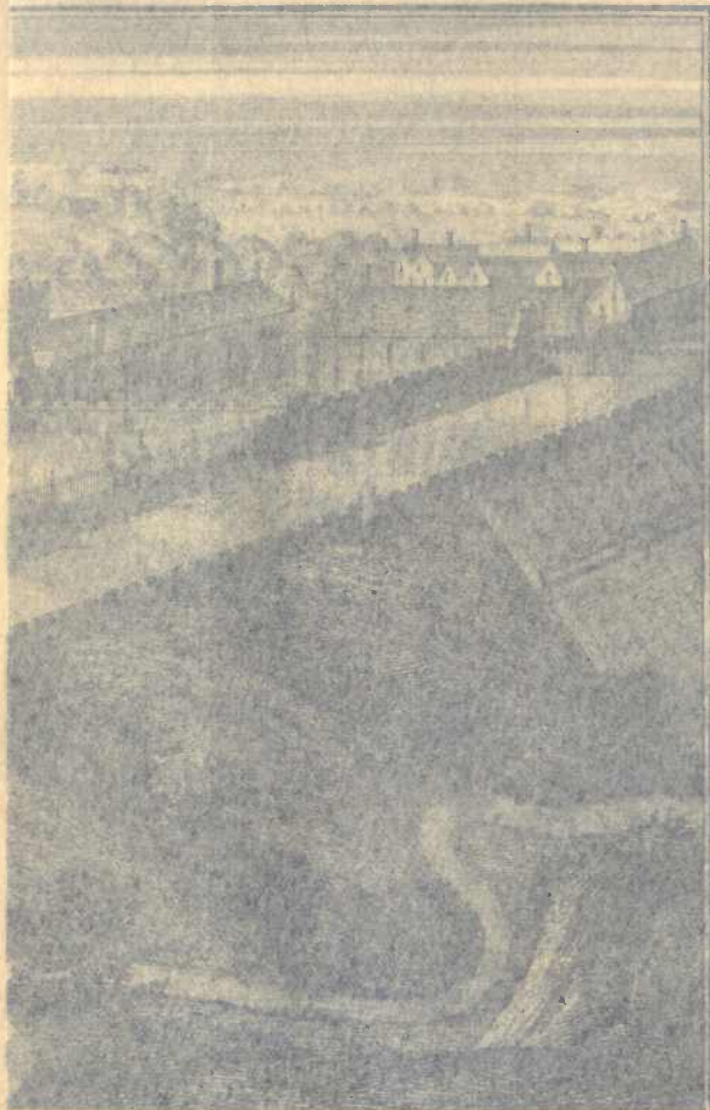
XII.

As might be expected, the exterior, stately and imposing though it is in the mass, is yet, owing to the entire absence of all genuine mediaeval detail, much less interesting and impressive. Notwithstanding, it is a grand conception, and grandly carried out. Considering the age when it was built, the fact that, so far as can be gathered, no architect whatever was employed, but that the bishop himself, with his masons and carpenters, were responsible for every item of stone and wood work about the place, we cannot but be filled with admiration at a result, at once so singular and successful. How much depended on the bishop's own personal taste and intervention will appear from the following characteristic epistle at the very commencement of the operations, dated March 13th, 1661 : ' To Robert Morley. Robert, we have had many deliberacions about the Chappell, and you seeme unwilling to follow my mind in the forme of the fower corner buttresses, both at the ends of the lower and the upper row of lights. I thinke it will be most beautifull, as the lesse chargeable, if you begin your rustick ashler worke all along from the ground, and continue it up as a strong even wall, about four feet high, on the top of which bottome wall make a large water table of 3 degrees, upon which you may place your butteresses (between the windows) that may be of the thickness only of the lower wall, and rise up flat before in 3 degrees, one lesse than another, till you come to the battlement, and add your finishing there to every such butteresse. At foure corners the butteresses may goe from the ground, and be made in 8 cants (whereof some wil be hidden in the coine), which need not be so great as a stayrecase, or look like any such ; for you may make them slender, every cant a foot long, and so the whole diameter of the butteresse will not be above 2 foot $\frac{1}{2}$, every lay of stones consisting some of one and some of two ; and when you come to the top (which must be 4 foot higher than the other flatt butteresses), you may cover all in a round, according to this inclosed patterne, which is taken from the best built plaine chappell in London. Let me hear from you how you like all this. At the east and west end on both sides the window you may set the like 8-canted butteresses and begin their bases upon a great corbell stone set out, 24 foot from the ground,

PLACE, IN DURHAM.



Anthony in K. Edm.^d I.⁶ Reign, who
placed in it a Deerangle for their Habitation.
Walter Skirlan, La considerable additions to it y^t it
became a most beated y^e envious Rebels, that S^r
Arthur Haslerig & Th^o. Cosins being made Bp. of
Durham by K. G. place; adding there to a stately
Chappel, A. D. 16th Sam.^l & Nath.^l Buck delin et Sculp^t 1728.



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To the Right Hon. Father in
Christ Bishop of Durham: Lord
of the Government of the C
The present Honor of this
This Prospect is intended
Hon. Lordships and the

John Bull

which you say is of the height of the east window sole. Those 8-canted butteresses would make the chappell beautifull to the eyes and well please your loving friend

Jo. DURESME.'

How extensively and minutely the bishop entered into the general designs and details of the interior—from the panelling, painting, gilding, and moulding of the beams of the roof; the glazing of the windows; the designs of the screen, stalls, reredoses, desks, cushions, altar plate, covers, books, pavement, and other and less important matter, we have already seen at large; and the same diligent and individual attention we now see him bestowing on all parts of the exterior. Not that he was obstinately bent on having his own way in the least. We have just seen by his own letter how he had evidently cast about all over London to find the best models for his angle turrets, and how, having done so, he sent sketches of them for his mason to follow; and those models were exactly reproduced, both as to proportion and the cupola-like finish of their tops. But the plan of the basement so strongly insisted on was not followed. Evidently, the bishop's first idea was to have one of considerable depth and projection, like those at Darlington and Ripon, into which the buttresses, without further projection, might lie in Norman or Transitional fashion. However, either from personal change of mind, or his friend Robert Morley's persuasion, he eventually followed the usual arrangement—as in Beck's work towards the north—by reducing the proposed proportions of the base, and allowing the buttresses to project.

Again, in another and far more important particular, we see how the bishop's second thoughts were best. Writing to his steward, Mr. Stapylton, January 30th, 1661, he says:—'I have considered the upper windows there, and I think four may serve, if five cannot be had.' From this it is clear that both he and his mason had already laid their heads together on the subject, and that 'Robert' had objected to the number five (which his master just as clearly preferred); and this for the best and most approved structural reasons. The bishop evidently looked at the matter only from a picturesque and external point of view, where five clearstorey windows would undoubtedly both look and fill up the space better than four. But as there were only four bays, such a number would have produced a

very bad and confused effect internally, where the central window would have come directly over a pillar—a void above a solid—and the rest, occupying irregular positions above the arches, would throw the whole into confusion. Further deliberations, by which both views were abandoned, led to the happiest result. And it is surely pleasant to find how, by mutual concession, the structural and artistic instincts of both found not only equal but far fuller expression in the ultimate adoption of seven, instead of either four or five, as the number of the windows ; that which allowed of their being set symmetrically over the centres of the four arches and three pillars on the one hand, and forming an unbroken and grandly continuous range of openings on the other.³²

But, interesting as these clearstorey windows are from the personal, they are just as much so from the architectural and historical points of view. Looked at from the standpoint of pure architecture, they present us with highly interesting illustrations of that striving after Gothic forms when, though the technical knowledge of the art was either dead or in its death throes, the Gothic spirit was, nevertheless, still struggling to express itself, and battling tenaciously for life.

Worthless, like all other ancient forms—even the very best and purest—as models for servile copying, their value lies in this, that they exhibit a phase of art peculiarly and specially their own ; imitative, perhaps, in expression rather than in detail, but imitative in such a way as the work of no other times but theirs could be.

³² I have said that the selection of seven instead of five as the number of the clearstorey windows on each side allowed of their being set symmetrically above the three pillars and points of the four arches. And so, no doubt, it did, theoretically. Practically, however, it was found desirable to modify this disposition somewhat, so as to apportion the same, or nearly the same, space between each window and that at the ends of each range and the angles. Starting, therefore, from the centre window directly over the central pillar, the positions of the three others on each side are slightly shifted east and west respectively, so as to make the intervening wall spaces, as nearly as may be, equal throughout. And thus, while the deviation from mathematical precision is practically unperceived, especially as seen in perspective, the very awkward and ungainly effect of having the whole range crowded, as it were, into the middle, while the ends were left bald and blank, is avoided, and the effect rendered just as satisfactory inside as outside, where the relations of the several parts is unseen. Of the three different designs assigned to these windows, the first is confined to the four at the extremities on each side ; the second, to the second and centre, counting from each end ; and the third, to the third from each end ; so that there are four of the first and third, and six of the second altogether. The effect is, naturally, very rich and varied in that respect, and just the same as in old work.

Nor is what may be called their historical, at all less than their personal, or architectural, value. For their evidence tends to prove—what must otherwise have been more entirely matter of conjecture—that the whole of the remaining windows, viz.:—those of the aisles and ends, are not, like themselves, exhibitions of pure seventeenth century spirit, but reproductions, more or less exact, of others which were there before them. No more striking contrast than that offered by the designs and proportions of the two groups could, in fact, be imagined. Those of the wholly new seventeenth century clearstorey, are just as wholly of seventeenth century characters, without any trace of mediaeval design whatever. Unlike some others of their day, as for example those of Exeter and Wadham college chapels, Oxford, which, save in one or two minute points of detail, might readily be taken for fine and perfectly genuine works of the fifteenth century, they make no attempt to revive Perpendicular forms—the nearest to them in point of date—at all. On the contrary, they go back to a mixture of geometrical and flowing figures, yet not such as ever occur in ancient work, but are due altogether to the fancy of their designer, the bishop's mason, Robert Morley. The windows are round-headed, of three lights, and set between massive crocketed pinnacles. They display three somewhat similar, though different, designs and are so unmistakably decadent—I forbear the once fashionable term 'debased'—that any question of origin is impossible. But they show, just as clearly, that the great east and west windows, as well as those of the side aisles—all those, that is, situate in the original parts of the building, are derived from another, and different, source altogether. Of the same date and workmanship as the clearstorey windows, the designs of the two are seen to have simply nothing in common. While the one set presents us with the uncertain and confused reminiscence of forms well-nigh forgotten, the other shows us the true forms themselves, and that with a degree of accuracy and precision such as could come only from the artificers having the originals present before their eyes. Now, what those originals were, and whence derived, is plain enough. The author of the *History of Durham*, etc., as we have already seen, referring to the great west window of four lights, declares it to be not only the actual one inserted for the sum of 2s. 3½d., but that such insertion was made in the 5th of bishop Hatfield, 1349-50. And as though

that—without stopping to reckon the cost in comparison of the work done—were not enough, he proceeds to assert that all the rest of those in the side aisles and at the east end, are also original, and inserted at the same time. But as all the stonework—that of the jambs more conspicuously, which is worked in rustic ashlar, and where the joints, hardly broken, form almost vertical lines—is incontestably that of Cosin, such claim to originality falls to the ground at once. And then, though the originals of such as have net tracery, had they only stood alone, might not improperly have been referred to Hatfield's time, such reference becomes manifestly absurd when, as happens here, they are intimately mixed up with others of more palpably geometrical character. The only period, it is evident, to which the originals can be assigned is the early part of the fourteenth century; and the only prelate Beck; who founded the college, rebuilt the ancient chapel, raised the side walls of the hall, inserted new and larger windows in them and at the ends to correspond with those of his new chapel opposite, and supported them at the same time with tall stepped buttresses which, towards the north, remain perfect to the present day.

XIII.

Clear, however, as the line of demarcation between the two groups is, it is not to be supposed that the copies of Beck's originals, close as they are, are yet, in all respects, literal and exact. That would be too much to expect. As in all assimilated, or copied, work, the touch and character of the copier, like murder, 'will out.' And thus, though the general outlines and proportions are, doubtless, faithfully reproduced, pointing distinctly to days earlier than those of Hatfield, yet some of the minor details are seen to point, every whit as distinctly, to those far later ones when they were wrought. The whole of the tracery is of the kind styled by the late professor Willis roll-tracery, that is, having a roll-moulding in place of the usual flat and simple face. But, admirable as it is, the whole seems slightly flattened, and to that extent, therefore, tamer and less effective than the originals would be. And another slight, but very characteristic, difference between the copies and the originals is that the cusping, instead of springing, as in genuine mediaeval work, out of the chamfer plane, and being thus made subordinate to it, embraces, on the contrary, the

whole of the plane, though, owing to the presence of the roll-moulding, which serves to throw that plane back, the fact is not perceived at once, nor the effect, perhaps, appreciably injured.

Again, some of the most curious points of this close copying are seen in the treatment of the rere-arches in the interior. Not only are the whole of the windows provided with such arches, instead of mere splays, but these again are supported by slender shafts, the bases of which have fourteenth century mouldings, apparently exact copies, though the caps, while perfectly appropriate, are probably less so. All are, moreover, provided with hood moulds, but these again, though not exciting suspicion in themselves, are finished off in every instance with unmistakable seventeenth century corbels, instead of the tufts of foliage or heads which would, pretty certainly, terminate the originals.

But what above all else serves to prove that, however close the general imitation may be, some liberty has been indulged in, is the introduction beneath the circular centrepiece of the great east window of a flattened oval figure between it and the head of the central light. It serves more forcibly, perhaps, than any other form could do, to betray its origin, and cast suspicion on all the rest at the same time. It is, however, the only detail due to the seventeenth century mason's invention. What the original figure which Robert Morley declined to copy was, is plain enough. The place of the oval, according to universal practice, no doubt was, and should have continued to be, filled by an acutely-pointed, arched, and cusped heading, either alone, as at Easton Neston, and Cricklade churches; or above a lower one in continuation of those of the side pieces or fenestellæ, as, among others, in the contemporary east windows of Ripon minster and Guisborough priory church, and that at the north end of the refectory at Easby abbey. Robert Morton's solitary device expunged, the tracery would then be of pure fourteenth century character throughout.

Other work on the exterior of the east end which was also purely of Cosin's time, has nearly all, and, as I think, happily, perished. From such indications as Bucks' view affords, it would seem to have consisted of festoons of fruit and flowers above, below, and at the sides of the great central window as well as outside those of the side aisles. Strictly in the taste of the day, no doubt, it was yet so violently incongruous with the whole of the real and quasi-Gothic

forms about it, that the effect, rich and ostentatious as it both was, and was meant to be, could never have been satisfactory. Now, however, all of this is not merely gone, but the surfaces of the stone so tooled over or renewed that its very existence could never be suspected. The only remaining but separate part of the composition is the weather-worn shield of the great bishop, which, occupying the centre of the gable, still 'tells the people what things he hath done.' The following refers to the work as a whole:—

'1663. 8 April. Articles for work according to draught and designe. Henry de Keiser, sculptor, to have 25*l.* to winne the stone, carve and set it up. My Lord to find the crampes and lead the stones, and to give 5*l.* more, if he shall judge the worke shall deserve it. One third to be paid in hand, another when the work is finished at the east end of the Chappell, and the third when the armes and work about the porch are finished.'

The porch, together with 'the armes and work about it,' are now, however, as clean gone apparently as the sculpture 'at the east end of the chappell,' though when they were altered or destroyed is not very clear. Bucks' view shows that of Cosin as a square, projecting structure, with scrolled parapets and square-headed, mullioned windows to the room above the archway. At present there is a shallow, three-sided portico, with slender pointed arches, serving as shelter to a quasi-Gothic archway, the door of which, enriched with festoons of fruit and flowers, is certainly of Cosin's time. But the walls of the porch have been rebuilt apparently by either Barrington or Van Mildert. It forms the southern end or division of a long and spacious vestibule which runs across and beyond the west end of the chapel, and is divided by cross walls and arches into three parts; the principal one in the centre containing the entrance doorway to the chapel, and another to the great staircase opposite to it. The chapel doorway corresponds exactly with that of the porch in every particular, both of wood and stonework, as do also their rear arches with those which cross the vestibule and mark its divisions. Dr. Raine says, 'The doorways in this part of the Chapel are of Trevor's period (1752-1771) or later.' He gives no authority for this assertion, however, which seems wholly improbable. The doors themselves are unquestionably those set up by Cosin, and exactly fit the stone arches,

which are of very peculiar outline, sharply pointed, and springing not from a tangent but an angle. The whole details of the stonework, moreover, are precisely of such a hybrid, nondescript character as Robert Morley might be expected to have evolved out of his own 'inner consciousness,' and it is difficult to see how, protected from the weather as both of them were from the first, they should have become so decayed as to need renewal above a hundred and twenty years ago, and when only about a hundred years old. That bishop Trevor did make divers alterations at the west end of the chapel seems, notwithstanding, clear enough. Thus, from a 'Memorandum of Work to be done at Auckland Castle' in the auditor's office at Durham, there appears, among others, the following particulars:—'A wall to be built between the two buttresses to screen the stairs on the outside of the chapple, with a battlement on the top. The vestry to be taken away, and a closet for the same use to be made in the thickness of the wall. The inside of the chapple at the west end to have two windows to answer them on the east end, the one blank and the other a part open.'

But all these works have in the interim been completely obliterated—the closet covered over, the windows blocked up, and the wall and battlement at the west end swept away in the wholesale and destructive alterations effected by the notorious Wyatt, under bishop Barrington.

All that remains to notice of Cosin's labours is the unseen, and therefore generally unknown, west gable of the chapel, a view of which is only to be had from the north-west angle at the back. It is a very grand and solemn composition, and perfectly preserved. Above the western window, and filling the entire flat-pitched gable with its outstretched wings, appear, in full relief, the noble head and bust of a great angel, with this fitting inscription—'Adorate Deum in atrio sancto ejus.'

XIV.

It remains now but to tell of those more recent works of pious munificence, so worthy of his great predecessor, which were carried out by bishop Lightfoot.

Stript bare of all the sumptuous decorations with which Cosin's care had adorned it, the orient colours of its roof expunged, its marble pillars buff-washed, the stained glass and pictures, the armorial

scutcheons, the silken cushions, the tapestries, the costly cloths of gold and silver tissue, all wasted and destroyed, with nothing but the gold plate left, and that undisplayed, the once solemn and religious interior of his chapel had been brought to assume, as nearly as might be, the bald and beggarly aspect of a dissenting meeting-house.

To redress these evils, and restore to the 'habitation of the house' he loved so well, that beauty of holiness which it had lost, was the task, or, as I should rather say, labour of love, that the bishop set before him from the first. Till his time, from the days of Barrington or Van Mildert, the east end of the building, as may be seen in Billings's view, was occupied by one of the meanest and flimsiest apologies for an altar piece conceivable. Of mere carpenter's Gothic—and poor at that—it was as attenuated in proportions, as miserable in its painted compo details. The back of the canopy work, in five divisions, was filled with a picture of the Ascension, said, as Dr. Raine tells us, to have been painted by sir Joshua Reynolds—though more likely a bad copy. But, whatever its origin, it was well-fitted for its setting, for a more vapid, washed-out, ineffective daub, or one more exactly continuing the universal drab-wash hues around it, could not be imagined.

The pavement of the altar platform had also suffered in Van Mildert's restoration. The steps, which bishop Cosin had constructed of black marble, had been replaced by stone, as well as the black marble squares of the pavement with slate. And then the windows overhead, which Cosin had filled in with pattern-work of his armorial bearings—a white fret on a blue field—had also been destroyed, and miserable imitations, reversing the tinctures, and eked out with much pot-metal glass in vulgar patterns, inserted in its place. The whole of these—slates, stones, picture, compo, and glass—were first of all completely cleared away, and the three east windows then filled with excellent stained glass by Messrs. Burlison & Grylls, to whom all the rest of the new glass in the chapel is due. We will take them in their order:—

I.—THE THREE EAST WINDOWS.

The Central Window.—The great cusped circle in the head of this window exhibits the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. In the oval beneath is the familiar Christian emblem of the pelican feeding her young with her own blood. In the five long lights

beneath are, in the centre, the Lord upon the cross, while the others are occupied by the four apostles of the inner circle—S. Andrew and S. Peter on the one side, and S. John and S. James on the other.

The lights of the two aisle windows and the five lower lights of the central window represent in order the chief scenes in the life of S. Peter. The north aisle window, it may be stated, was given by several of the clergy who had been ordained in the chapel. The subjects are as follows:—

North Aisle. 1. Call of S. Peter to the apostleship (Matt. iv. 19).

2. Confession of S. Peter (Matt. xvi. 16).

Central. 3. S. Peter walking on the sea (Matt. xiv. 31).

4. S. Peter's denial (Matt. xxvi. 75).

5. The pastoral charge to S. Peter (John xxi. 16).

6. S. Peter's vision (Acts x. 15).

7. His release from prison (Acts xii. 7).

South Aisle. 8. The ancient story, 'Domine, quo vadis?'³³

9. The crucifixion of S. Peter (John xxi. 18).

II.—THE REREDOS AND SANCTUARY.

The reredos consists of two parts, the lower portion being of dark Frosterley marble, and the upper of oak.

Of the marble work, the lower part is plain and carries a richly moulded and carved retable with shields having the emblems of the Evangelists and the cross of S. Cuthbert carved on them. Above this is a large recessed panel, containing a plate of copper on which are painted ten figures of angels bearing shields charged with the emblems of the Passion. Above the panel is a cornice forming the base on which the oak superstructure stands.

³³ After passing the site of the first milestone on the Appian way, and the tomb of Priscilla, at the point where the modern Strada della Madonna del Devin' Amore branches off to the right, is the church of *Domine quo vadis*, so called from the tradition that it was here that S. Peter in his flight from Rome met our Saviour, who, to the above enquiry of the apostle, made answer, 'Venio Romam iterum crucifigi.' On hearing which he at once retraced his steps, and, like his Master before Pontius Pilate, 'witnessing a good confession,' fulfilled his prediction.

A slab of white marble, professing to bear the imprints of the Lord's feet, is shown as one of the most precious relics in the neighbouring basilica of S. Sebastian. As the Appian way, however, was not paved with white marble slabs, and the one in question bears distinct marks of the chisel, the value of this, as well as of the other relics of which it forms the crowning glory, may be accurately appraised.

The oak superstructure has two tiers of large bas-reliefs under canopies, and divided by buttresses and canopied niches containing twelve small statues of angels with musical instruments. The central bas-relief of the upper series contains a figure of our Lord in glory, with adoring and censing angels. The bas-reliefs on either side represent Apostles and Prophets respectively. The centre of the lower series contains a group of local saints, S. Oswald, S. Hilda, S. Aidan, the Ven. Bede, and S. Cuthbert. On the one side is a group of martyrs ; on the other, of saints and doctors. The whole is surmounted by a coved canopy, finished by a richly carved cornice and a cresting with three shields.

The painted panel is the work of Messrs. Burlison & Grylls, who also drew all the groups of figures. These latter were carved by P. de Wispelaere, sculptor, of Bruges. The architectural carving, which follows local types, was executed by the late Mr. Roddis.

The *holy altar* is of oak with cedar panels. The super-altar, which is of the same materials, is carved with the sacred monograms, the rose and lily, the keys of S. Peter, and the cross saltire of S. Andrew. The *cross* and the *standard candlesticks* were designed and executed in Durham.

The *credence table* is constructed out of a portion of an ancient altar slab, found in the house, where it had been put to other uses. Both itself and its legs are of Frosterley marble.

The *steps* of the sanctuary are of black and white marble in accordance with Cosin's design, and their original construction. They have taken the place of those meaner ones of slate and stone substituted for them in the time of Van Mildert.

III.—THE WINDOWS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH AISLES.

The series of pictures proceeds from right to left, beginning with the easternmost window of the north wall, and ending with the easternmost window of the south wall. For descriptive purposes, each window may be divided into three portions.

I. *Angels with Scrolls*.—These occupy the central lower compartment. The scrolls bear the names of the earlier occupants of the Northumbrian see, which was fixed at Lindisfarne by Aidan, A.D. 635, and remained there till Eardulf, A.D. 875. Meanwhile, an off-

shoot was planted at Hexham (Haguldstald), under whose jurisdiction the county of Durham fell for a time, and this existed from Tunbert (A.D. 681) to Tidferth (A.D. 814). From Lindisfarne, the see was removed to Cestria (Chester-le-Street), and remained there till A.D. 995, when it was removed by Aldhun to Durham. The names on the six scrolls are those of the bishops of (1), (2), Lindisfarne, (3), (4), Hexham, and (5), Chester, ending with (6), the earlier bishops of Durham.

II. *Tracery*.—This consists mainly of three quatrefoils in the easternmost window on either side; and of a large cusped circle in the other four windows. All these are filled with figures of the principal personages belonging to the successive periods to which the historical scenes beneath refer.

III. *Historical Scenes*.—Of these there are three in each window in the following order:—(1) Lower light (right hand); (2) upper light (the whole breadth of the window); (3) lower light (left hand); thus making eighteen in all. The nine on the north side comprise the *Celtic* period of Northumbrian history ending with the council of Whitby and the submission to Rome. The nine on the south side give the *Roman* period to the building of Durham cathedral.

FIRST WINDOW.

I. *Angels' Scroll*.—The earliest bishops of Lindisfarne from Aidan (A.D. 635) to Eadfrid (698).

II. *Tracery*.—Three small lights, quatrefoils; figures of king Edwin, of Paulinus, and of king Oswald.

III. *Historical Scenes*.—1. Paulinus preaching in the court of Edwin; flight of the dove through the hall³⁴ (first conversion of Northumbria).

³⁴ The whole story of Paulinus and his labours is fully set forth by Bede who tells how, having first been consecrated to the episcopal office, he set out from Kent with the Christian Aethelburga to the court of her future husband, the still heathen Edwin of Northumbria. . . . 'Vir Deo dilectus Paulinus, qui cum illa veniret, eamque et comites ejus, nè paganorum possent societate pollui, quotidianâ exhortatione, et sacramentorum coelestium celebratione confirmaret . . . et sic cum prae-fata virgine ad Regem Edwinum, quasi comes copulae carnalis advenit. Sed ipse potiùs toto animo intendens, ut gentem, quam adibat, ad agnitionem veritatis advocans, juxta vocem Apostoli, *Unì viro sponso virginem castam exhiberet Christo*. Cùmque in provinciam venisset, laboravit multum, ut eos, qui secum venerunt, nè à fide deficerent, Domino adjuvante contineret; et aliquos, si fortè posset, de paganis ad fidei gratiam praedicando converteret. Sed

2. King Oswald planting the cross before the battle of Heavensfield.³⁵

sicut Apostolus ait, *Quamvis multo tempore illo laborante in verbo, Deus seculi hujus excecavit mentes infidelium, nè eis fulgeret illuminatio Evangelii gloriæ Christi.* At length, however, after escaping assassination at the hands of Eumer, the emissary of Quichelm, king of the West Saxons, and shortly after destroying the power of that king, Edwin, after due deliberation, yields to the teaching of Paulinus. 'Igitur accepit rex Edwinus, cum cunctis gentis suae nobilibus ac plebe perplurima, fidem et lavacrum sanctae regenerationis, anno regni sui undecimo (627). Baptizatur est autem Eboraci die sancto Paschae in Ecclesia sancti Petri Apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno, cum catechizaretur, atque ad percipiendum baptismum imbueretur, citato opere construxit. In qua etiam civitate ipsi doctori atque antistiti suo Paulino sedem episcopatus donavit.' *V. Bedae, H. E. II. 9 and 14.*

The simile of the flight of the bird (dove or sparrow) through the hall was brought forward while the relative merits of Paganism and Christianity were being discussed between the king and his nobles, and previous to their eventual conversion. The incident is thus narrated:—Coifi, the high priest, having first of all declared how vain and unprofitable his gods had been to himself, notwithstanding his devotion to them, concluded by saying:—'Unde restat, ut si ea, quae nunc nova nobis praedicantur, meliora esse, et fortiora (habita examinatione,) perspexeris; (absque ullo cunctamine) suscipere illa festinemus. Cujus suasioni verbisque prudentibus, alius optimatum Regis tribuens assensum, continuo subdidit: Talis, inquit, mihi videtur (Rex) vita hominum praesens in terris, ad comparationem ejus quod nobis incertum est temporis, quale cum te residente ad coenam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco (in medio), et calido affecto coenaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hyemalium pluviarum vel nivium; adveniens unus passerum domum citissime pervolaverit, qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens, mox per aliud exierit, ipso quidem tempore quo intus est, hyemis tempestate non tangitur: sed tamen parvissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excursu, mox de hyeme in hyemem regrediens tuis oculis elabitur: Ita haec vita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem sequatur quidve praecesserit prorsus ignoramus. Unde si haec nova doctrina certius aliquid attulerit, merito esse sequenda videtur. His similia, et caeteri majores natu, ac Regis consilarii divinitus admoniti, prosequabantur. Adiecit autem Coifi, quia vellet ipsum Paulinum diligentius audire de Deo, quem praedicabat, verbum facientem. Quod cum, jubente Rege faceret; exclamavit, auditis ejus sermonibus, dicens: Jan olim intellexeram nihil esse quod colebamus, quia videlicet quanto studiosius in eo cultu veritatem quaerebam, tanto minus inveniebam. Nunc autem aperte profiteor, quia in hac praedicatione veritas claret illa, quae nobis vitae salutis et beatitudinis aeternae dona valeat tribuere. Unde suggero Rex, ut templa et altaria quae sine fructu utilitatis sacravimus, ocyus anathamati et igni contradamus.' *V. Bedae H. E. II. 13.*

³⁵ The battle was fought between Oswald of Northumbria and Caedwalla, king of the Britons, 'in fandus Britonum dux,' as Bede styles him. The following is his account of it:—'Ostenditur autem usque hodie, et in magna veneratione habetur locus ille, ubi venturus ad hanc pugnam Oswaldus, signum sanctae crucis erexit, ac flexis genibus Deum deprecatus est; ut in tanta serum necessitate suis cultoribus coelesti succurreret auxilio. Denique fertur, quia facta citato opere cruce, ac fovea praeparata in qua statui deberet, ipse fide servens hanc arripuerit, ac foveae imposuerit, atque utraque manu erectam tenuerit, donec aggesto à militibus pulvere, terrae figeretur: Et hoc facto, elata in altum voce, cuncto exercitui proclamaverit, Flectamus omnes genua, et Deum omnipotentem vivum ac verum, in communi deprecemur, ut nos ab hoste superbo ac ferocis sua miseratione defendat: scit enim ipse, quia justa pro salute gentis nostrae bella suscepimus. Fecerunt omnes ut jusserrat; Et sic incipiente

3. S. Aidan leaving the shores of Iona to preach the Gospel in Northumbria³⁶ (second conversion of Northumbria).

SECOND WINDOW.

I. *Angels' Scroll*.—The succeeding bishops of Lindisfarne from Ethelwold (A.D. 724) to Eardulf (A.D. 854).

II. *Tracery*.—Figure of S. Aidan seated, with the legend—

PETRA UNDE EXCISI ESTIS (Is. li. 1).

III. *Historical Scenes*.—4. S. Aidan preaching and king Oswald interpreting.³⁷

5. S. Aidan teaching the English youths.³⁸

diluculo in hostem progressi, juxta meritum suae fidei, victoriâ potiti sunt. In cujus loco orationis, innumerae virtutes sanitatum noscuntur esse patratae, ad indicium videlicet ac memoriam fidei Regis: Nam et usque hodie, multi de ipso ligno sacrosanctae crucis hastulas excidere solent, quas cum in aquas miserint, eisque, languentes homines aut pecudes potaverint sive asperserint, mox sanitati restituuntur. Vocatur locus ille linguâ Anglorum Heofonfeld (quod dici potest Latinè, coelestis Campus), quod certo utique praesagio futurorum, antiquitus nomen accepit; significans nimirum quod ibidem coeleste erigendum trophaeum, coelestis inchoanda victoria, coelestia usque hodie forent miracula celebranda.' *V. Bedae H. E. III. 2.*

³⁶ 'Idem ergo Oswaldus rex, ubi regnum suscepit, desiderans, totam cui praeesse coepit gentem, fidei Christianae gratia imbui, cujus experimenta permaxima in expugnandis Barbaris jam ceperat, misit ad majores natu Scotorum, inter quos exulans ipse baptismatis Sacramento, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur autistes, cujus doctrinâ ac ministerio gens quam regebat Anglorum, Dominicae fidei dona disceret, et susciperet Sacramenta. Neque aliquanto tardius quod petiit impetravit. Accepit namque Pontificem Aidanum, summae mansuetudinis et pietatis ac moderaminis virum; habentemque zelum Dei, quamvis non plenè secundum scientiam Venienti igitur se Episcopo, Rex locum sedis Episcopalis, in insula Lindisfarnensi, ubi ipse petebat, tribuit.' *V. Bedae H. E. III. 3.*

³⁷ 'Qui videlicet locus, accedente ac recedente rheumate, bis quotidie, instar insulae maris circumfluitur undis, bis renudato litore contiguus terrae redditur: atque ejus admonitionibus humiliter ac libenter in omnibus auscultans, Ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter aedificare, ac dilitare curavit. Ubi pulcherrimo saepe spectaculo contigit, ut evangelizante antistite, qui Anglorum linguam perfectè non noverat, ipse Rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpretis verbi existeret coelestis; quia nimirum, tam longo exilii sui tempore, linguam Scotorum jam plenè dicerat.' *V. Bedae H. E. III. 3.*

³⁸ 'Cujus doctrinam, id maximè commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter, quam vivebat cum suis, ipse docebat; Nihil enim hujus mundi quaerere, nihil amare curabat Discurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca, non equorum dorso, sed pedum incessu vectus, nisi major fortè necessitas compulisset, solebat. Quatenus ubicunque aliquos, vel divites vel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos divertens, vel ad fidei suscipiendae Sacramentum, si infideles essent, invitaret; vel si fideles, in ipsa eos fide confortaret, atque ad eleemosynas operumque bonorum executionem et verbis excitaret et factis.' *V. Bedae H. E. III. 5.*

6. S. Finan baptizing Peada, king of the Middle Anglians³⁹ (representing the missionary work of the Northumbrian church).

THIRD WINDOW.

I. *Angels' Scroll*.—The first bishops of Hexham from Tunbert (A.D. 681) to Frithbert (A.D. 734).

II. *Tracery*.—Figure of S. Hilda seated, with the legend—

SURREXIT MATER IN ISRAEL (Jud. v. 7).

III. *Historical Scenes*.—7. S. Hilda receiving the poet Caedmon into her monastery at Whitby⁴⁰ (the beginnings of English literature).

³⁹ 'His temporibus Middel Angli (id est, mediterranei Angli) sub principe Peada, filio Pandan regis, fidem et sacramenta veritatis perceperunt Qui cum esset juvenis optimus, ac regis nomine ac personâ dignissimus, piaelatus est a patre regno gentis illius. Venitque ad regem Northanhymbrorum Oswiv postulans filiam ejus Alchfledam sibi conjugem dari; nec aliter quod petebat impetrare potuit, nisi fidem Christi (ac baptismum), cum gente cui praeerat, acciperet. At ille auditâ praedicatione veritatis, et promissione regni coelestis, speque resurrectionis ac futurae immortalitatis, libenter se Christianum fieri velle confessus est, etiamsi virginem non acciperet, persuasus maximè ad percipiendam fidem à filio Regis Oswiu, nomine Alhfrido, qui erat cognatus et amicus ejus, habens sororem ipsius conjugem, vocabulo Cyniburgam, filiam Pandan regis. Baptizatus est ergò à Finano Episcopo, cum omnibus qui secum venerant comitibus ac militibus, eorumque famulis universis, in vico regis illustri qui vocatur Admorum.' *V. Bedae, H. E. III. 21.*

⁴⁰ 'In hujus monasterio Abbatissae fuit frater quidam, divinâ gratiâ specialiter insignis quia carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat; ita ut quicquid ex divinis literis per interpretes disceret, hoc ipse post pusillum, verbis Poeticis maximâ suavitate et compunctione compositis, in sua, id est, Anglorum lingua proferret. . . . Namque ipse non ab hominibus, neque per hominem institutus canendi artem didicit, sed divinitus adjutus, gratis canendi donum accepit. . . . Unde nonnunquam in convivio, cum esset laetitiae causâ decretum, ut omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille ubi appropinquare sibi citharam cernebat, surgebat à media coena, et egressus, ad suam domum repedabat. Quod dum tempore quodam faceret, et relictâ domo convivii, egressus esset ad stabula jumentorum, quorum ei custodia nocte illâ erat delegata ibique horâ competenti membra dedisset sopori, astitit ei quidam per somnium, eumque salutans ac suo appellans nomine; Caedmon, inquit, canta mihi aliquid. At ille respondens, Nescio, inquit cantare: Nam et ideò de convivio egressus, huc secessi, quia cantare non poteram. Rursum ille, qui cum eo loquebatur. Attamen ait, cantare habes. Quid inquit, debeo cantare? At ille: Canta, inquit, principium creaturarum. Quo accepto responso, statim ipse coepit cantare in laudem Dei conditoris, versus, quos nunquam audierat, quorum iste est sensus. . . . Exurgens autem à somno, cuncta quae dormiens cantaverat memoriter retinuit, et his mox plura in eundem modum, verba Deo digni carminis adjunxit. Venienque manè ad villicum, qui sibi praeerat, quid doni percepisset, indicavit; atque ad Abbatissam perductus, jussus est, multis doctioribus viris praesentibus, indicare somnium et dicere carmen, ut universorum judicio, quid vel unde esset quod referebat, probaretur. Visumque est omnibus coelestem ei à Domino concessam esse, gratiam. Exponebantque illi quendam sacrae Historiae sive doctrinae sermonem; praecipientes ei, si posset, hunc in modulationem carminis transferre. At ille suscepto negotio abiit, et manè

8. S. Hilda is consulted by kings and bishops.⁴¹

9. The council of Whitby, at which S. Hilda is present on the Celtic side.⁴²

FOURTH WINDOW.

I. *Angels' Scroll*.—The succeeding bishops of Hexham from Alchmund (A.D. 767) to Tidfirth (A.D. 814).

rediens optimo carmine, quod jubebatur, compositum reddidit; unde mox Abbatissa amplexata gratiam Dei in viro, seculare illum habitum relinquere, et monachicum suscipere propositum docuit. Susceptumque, in monasterium cum omnibus suis, fratrū cohorti associavit; jussitque illum seriem sacrae Historiae doceri. . . . Canebat autem de creatione mundi, et origine humani generis, et tota Genesis historia; de egressu Israel ex Aegypto, et ingressu in terram repromissionis; De aliis plurimis sacrae Scripturae Historiis; de incarnatione Dominica, passione, resurrectione, et ascensione in coelum; de adventu Spiritūs sancti, et Apostolorum doctrina: Item de terrore futuri judicii, et horrore poenae Gehennalis, ac dulcedine regni coelestis multa carmina faciebat,' etc. *V. Bedae H. E. IV. 24.*

⁴¹ 'Tantae autem erat ipsa prudentiae, ut non solum mediocres quique in necessitatibus suis, sed etiam reges ac principes nonnunquam ab ea consilium quaerent et invinerent. Tantū lectioni divinarum Scripturarum suos vacare subditos, tantum operibus justitiae se exercere faciebat, ut facillimè viderentur ibidem, qui Ecclesiasticum geadum, hoc est, altaris officium apte subirent, plurimi posse reperiri. Denique quinque ex eodem monasterio postea Episcopos vidimus, et hos omnes singularis meriti ac sanctitatis viros, quorum haec sunt nomina, Bosa, Aetla, Ofsor, Johannes et Wilfrid,' etc. *V. Bedae H. E. IV. 23.*

⁴² The council of Whitby, held A.D. 664, in order to settle the long-standing and vexed question as to the true time of keeping Easter, belongs so entirely to the domain of ecclesiastical history that no detailed notice of it need be taken here. Its history will be found set out in full in *Bede, H. E. III. 25*. Suffice it to say that it was attended by Oswin, king of Northumbria, and his son Alchfrid who, as sub-king, ruled the province of Deira; Agilberet, bishop of the West Saxons, Wilfrid, abbot of Ripon, Agatho, Jacobus, the deacon, and Romanus, the priest, representing the Roman party; and the bishops Colman and Ceadda, the abbess Hild, and their respective clergy, the Scottish. The latter pleaded the use which, handed down from time immemorial, and traditionally from S. John, themselves and their ancestors had all along followed; the former, the use of the church universal, which followed that established at Rome by the apostles Peter and Paul; urging, finally, that however great Columba might have been, he was not to be preferred to the prince of the apostles, 'Cui Dominus ait; "*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalerunt adversus eam, et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum.*"

Asked by the king whether this were true, Colman answered, Yes; whether such power had ever been conferred on Columba, he said, No. Then, asking both sides if such words had been spoken principally to Peter, and both agreeing that they had, the king thus characteristically wound up the debate:—'Et ego vobis dico, quia hic est Hostiarius ille, cui ego contradicere nolo, sed in quantum novi, vel valeo, hujus cupio in omnibus obedire statutis, nè fortè, me adveniente ad fores regni coelorum non sit qui reserat averso illo, qui claves tenere probatur. Haec dicente rege, faverunt assidentes sibi, et quique, sive astantes, majores, unà cum mediocribus, et 'abdicatâ minùs perfectâ institutione, ad ea quae meliora cognoverant, sese transferre festinabant.' *V. Bedae H. E. III. 25.* Whelock's edition, Cambridge, 1644.

II. *Tracery*.—Figure of S. Cuthbert with the legend—

SUSTULIT EUM DE GREGIBUS OVIUM (Ps. lxxviii. 70).

III. *Historical Scenes*.—10. The youth Cuthbert presents himself to the abbot Boisil and seeks admission to Melrose.⁴³

11. Consecration of S. Cuthbert by archbishop Theodore.⁴⁴

12. Death of S. Cuthbert, announced by the attendant monks to their brethren at Lindisfarne by lighted torches.⁴⁵

⁴³ 'Et quidem Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam multos habere sanctos viros, quorum doctrina et exemplis instrui posset, noverat, sed fama preventus Boisili sublimium virtutum monachi et sacerdotis, Mailros petere maluit. Casuque contigit, ut cum illo proveniens equo desilisset, ingressurusque ad orandum ecclesiam, ipsum pariter equum et hastam, quam tenuerat manu, ministro dedisset, nec dum enim habitum deposuerat secularem, Boisilus ipse prae foribus monasterii consistens, prior illum videret. Praeviciens in spiritu quantees conversatione esset futurus, quam cernebat, hoc unum dixit astantibus, "Ecce servus Dei," imitatus illum, qui venientem ad se Nathanael intuitus, "Ecce," inquit, "vir Israelita, in quo dolus non est." . . . Nec plura loquens Boisilus pervenientem mox ad se Cudbertum benigne suscepit, causamque sui itineris exponentem, quia, videlicet, monasterium seculo praetulerit, benignus secum retenuit. Erat enim Praepositus ejusdem monasterii.' *V. Bedae O. H. M. Vita S. Cudberti, VI.* Stevenson's edition.

⁴⁴ 'Cum ergo ibidem multis annis Deo solitarius serviret . . . contigit ut congregatâ synodo non parvâ sub praesentia regis Ecgfridi juxta fluvium Alne, . . . cui beatae memoriae Theodorus Archiepiscopus praesidebat, unanimo omnium consensu ad Episcopatum Ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis eligeretur. Qui cum multis legatariis ac literis ad se praemissis, nequaquam suo monasterio posset erui, tandem rex ipse praefatus, unâ cum sanctissimo antistite Trumwine neenon et aliis religiosis ac potentibus viris insulam navigavit. Conveniunt et di ipsa insula Lindisfarnensi in hoc ipsum multi de fratribus; genuflectunt; omnes, adjurant per Dominum; lacrymas fundunt; obsecrant; donec ipsum quoque lacrymis plenum dulcibus extrahunt latebris, atque ad synodum pertrahunt. Quô dum perveniret, quamvis multum renitens, unanimo cunctorum volunatè superatur, atque ad suscipiendum Episcopatus officium collum submittere compellitur. . . . Nec tamen statim ordinatio decreta, sed peracta hyeme, quae imminebat, in ipsa solennitate Paschali completa est Eboraci, sub praesentia regis Ecgfridi; convenientibus ad consecrationem ejus septem Episcopis in quibus beatae memoriae Theodorus primatum tenebat.' *V. Bedae H. E. IV. 28.*

⁴⁵ 'Haec et his similia vir Domini per intervalla locutus, quia vis, ut diximus, infirmitatis possibilitatem loquendi ademerat, quietum exspectatione futurae beatitudinis diem duxit ad vespem, cui etiam pervigilem quietus in precibus continuavit et noctem. At ubi consuetum nocturnae laudis dicebant psalmum quinquagesimum nonum, cujus initium est, Deus repulisti nos et destruxisti nos, iratus es et misertus es nobis. Nec mora, currens unus ex eis accendit duas candelas; et utraque tenens manu ascendit eminentiorem locum, ad ostendendum Fratribus, qui in Lindisfarnensi monasterio manebant, quia sancta illa anima jam migrasset ad Dominum; tale namque inter se signum sanctissimi ejus obitus condixerant. Quod cum videret, Frater, qui in specula Lindis-

FIFTH WINDOW.

I. *Angels' Scroll*.—The bishops of Cestria (Chester-le-Street) from Cutheard (A.D. 900) to Aldhun (A.D. 990).

II. *Tracery*.—Figure of the Venerable Bede, with the legend—

SCRIBA DOCTUS IN REGNO CAELORUM (Matt. xiii. 52).

III. *Historical Scenes*.—13. The abbot Ceolfrid and the boy Bede singing the antiphons during the plague.⁴⁶

14. The erection of Benedict Biscop's twin monasteries. Wearmouth is represented as already built in the background, and the plan of Jarrow is in Benedict's hands.⁴⁷

farnensis insulae longe de contra eventus ejusdem pervigil exspectaverat horam, cucurrit citius ad ecclesiam, ubi collectus omnis Fratrum coetus nocturnae psalmodiae solemnia celebrabat; contigitque ut ipsi quoque, intrante illo, praefatum canerent psalmum.' *V. Bedae O. H. M. Vita S. Cuthberti, XXXIX. XL.*

⁴⁶ 'Porro in monasterio, cui Ceolfridus praeerat, omnes qui legere, vel praedicare, vel antiphonas ac responsoria dicere possent ablati sunt, excepto ipso abbate et uno puerulo, qui ab ipso nutritus et eruditus, nunc usque in eodem monasterio presbyterii gradum tenens, jure actus ejus laudabiles cunctis scire volentibus et scripto commendat et fata. Qui videlicet, abbas praefatae gratia plagae multum tristis, precepit ut, intermisso ritu priori, psalmodiam totam, praeter Vesperem et Matutinas, sine antiphonis transigerent; quod cum unius hebdomadis spatio inter multas ejus lacrimas et querimonias esset actitatum, diutius hoc fieri non ferens rursus statuit ut antiphonatae psalmodiae, juxta morem, instauraretur, cunctisque adnitentibus, per se et quem praedixi puerum, quae statuerat, non parvo cum labore cemplebat, donec socios operis divini sufficientes vel nutriret ipse vel aliunde colligeret.' *Hist. Abb. Gyrvensium, Auct. Anon. XIV.*

⁴⁷ 'Nec plus quam unius anni spatio post fundatum monasterium interjecto, Benedictus, oceano transmisso (676), Gallias petens, caementarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit. Et tantum in operando studii prae amore beati Petri, in cujus honorem faciebat, exhibuit, ut intra unius anni circulum, ex quo fundamenta sunt jacta, culminibus superpositis, Missarum inibi sollennia celebrari videres. Proximante autem ad perfectum opere, misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitii factores (artifices videlicet), Britanniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiae, porticumque et coenaculorum ejus, fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, venerunt; nec solum opus postulatum compleverunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem hujusmodi artificum nosse ac discere fecerunt;' etc.

'Igitur venerabilis Benedicti virtute, industria ac religione, rex Ecgrifridus non minimum delectatus, terram, quam ad construendam monasterium ei donaverat, quia bene se ac fructuose ordinatum esse conspexit, quadraginta adhuc familiarum data possessione, augmentare curavit; ubi post annum, missis monachis numero ferme decem et septem, et praeposito abbate ac presbytero, Ceolfrido, Benedictus consulto, immo etiam jussu, praefati Ecgrifridi regis, monasterium beati Apostoli Pauli construxit (A.D. 682) ea duntaxat ratione, ut una utriusque loci pax et concordia, eadem perpetua familiaritas conservaretur et gratia; ut, sicut verbi gratia, corpus a capite per quod spirat non potest avelli, caput corporis sine quo non vivit nequit oblivisci, ita nullus haec monasteria, primorum Apostolorum fraterna societate conjuncta, aliquo ab invicem temptaret disturbare conatu.' etc. *V. Bedae O. H. M. Vita B. Ab. Benedicti, Ceolfridi, Eosterwini, Sigfridi atque Hwaetberhti.*

15. The death of Bede on completing his translation of S. John's Gospel.⁴⁸

SIXTH WINDOW.

I. *Tracery*.—Three small lights, quatrefoils, as in opposite northern one, containing the figures of king Alfred, bishop Aldhun, and prior Turgot.

II. *Angels' Scroll*.—The earliest bishops of Durham, from Aldhun (995) to William de S. Barbara (A.D. 1143).

III. *Historical Scenes*.—16. Discovery of the lost volume of the Gospels during the wanderings of the body of S. Cuthbert from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ 'Cum venisset autem tertia feria ante Ascensionem Domini, coepit vehementius aegrotare in anhelitu, et modicus tumor in pedibus apparuit. Totum autem illum diem ducebat et hilariter dictabat, et nonnunquam inter alia dixit. Discite cum festinatione, nescio quamdiu subsistam, et si post modicum tollat me factor meus. Nobis autem videbatur quod suum exitum bene sciret; et sic noctem in gratiarum actione pervigil duxit. Et mane illucescente, id est, quarta feria praecepit diligenter scribi quae ceperamus. Et hoc facto, usque ad tertiam horam, ambulavimus deinde cum reliquiis sanctorum ut consuetudo illius diei poscebat. Unus vero erat ex nobis cum illo, qui dixit illi, Adhuc, magister dilectissime capitulum unum deest, videtur tibi difficile plus te interrogari? At ille, facile est inquit. Accipe tuum calamus, et tempera, et festinet scribe. Quod ille fecit. Nona autem hora dixit mihi. Quaedam preciosa in mea capsula habeo, id est, piperem, oraria et incensa: sed curre velociter, et presbiteros nostri monasterii adduc ad me, ut et ego munuscula qualia Deus donavit illis distribuam. Divites autem in hoc seculo aurum, argentum et alia quaeque preciosa dare student, ego autem cum multa charitate et gaudio fratribus meis dabo quod Deus dederat. Et allocutus est unumquemque monens et obsecrans pro eo missas et orationes diligenter facere. Quod illi libenter sponderunt. Lugebant autem et flebant omnes, maxime quod dixerat, quia amplius faciem ejus, in hoc seculo non essent visuri. Gaudebant autem quia dixit, tempus est ut revertar ad eum qui me fecit, qui me creavit, qui me ex nihilo formavit. Multum tempus vixi, bene mihi pius iudex vitam meam praevidit, tempus resolutionis meae instat, quia cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo, sic et alia multa locutus, in laetitia diem usque ad vesperum duxit. Et praefatus puer dixit, Adhuc una sententia magister dilecte non est descripta. At ille, Bene, inquit, veritatem dixisti, consummatum est. Accipe meum caput in manus tuas, quia multum me delectat sedere ex adverso loco sancto meo in quo orare solebam, ut et ego sedes possim invocare patrem meum. Et sic in pavimento suae casulae decantans, Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto; cum Spiritum sanctum nominasset, spiritum è corpore exhalavit ultimum, ac sic regna migravit ad coelestia.' *Sim. Dunelm. Hist. de Dunelm. Ecclesia*, lib. i. c. 15.

⁴⁹ 'Qua tempestate dum navis verteretur in latera, cadens ex ea textus Evangeliorum auro gemmisque perornatus, in maris ferebatur profunda'

'Per id quippe temporis, in locum qui candida casa, vulgo autem huiusmodi vocatur, devenerant. Itaque pergentes ad mare, multo quam consueverat longius recessisse conspiciunt, et tribus vel eo amplius milliariis gradientes, ipsum sanctum Evangeliorum codicem reperiunt, qui ita forinsecus gemmis et auro sui decorem, ita intrinsecus literis et foliis priorem praeferbat pulchritudinem, ac si ab aqua minime tactus fuisset.' *Sim. Dunelm. Hist. de Dunelm. Ecclesia*, lib. ii. cc. 13, 14.

17. King Athelstan presenting his offerings at the shrine of S. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street.⁵⁰

18. Building of Durham cathedral by William of Carilef.⁵¹

IV.—EPISCOPAL SHIELDS.

The list of the bishops of the Northumbrian see having thus been brought down from S. Aidan to William of S. Barbara, and the historical scenes from the earliest evangelization of Northumbria to the building of Durham cathedral, from this point forward the history is represented by the armorial bearings of the successive bishops of Durham, from Hugh Pudsey (A.D. 1153), the immediate successor of this William, to Charles Baring (A.D. 1861), the immediate predecessor of the late bishop. The series proceeds from left to right, the earliest (Hugh Pudsey) being immediately below the building of Durham cathedral.

⁵⁰ 'Eo tempore Eadwardus rex, plenus dierum et confectus bona senectute, filium suum Ethelstanum vocavit, eique regnum suum tradidit, et ut Sanctum Cuthbertum diligeret, et supra omnes Sanctos honoraret, diligenter inculcavit; notificans ei qualiter patri suo regi Elfredio in paupertate et in exilio miseriacorditer subvenisset; et qualiter eum contra omnes hostes viriliter juvisset,' etc. 'Igitur Ethelstanus rex magnum exercitum de australi parte eduxit, et versus aquilonarem plagam in Scottiam illum secum trahens ad oratorium Sancti Cuthberti divertit, eique regia munera dedit, et inde hoc subscriptum testamentum composuit, et ad caput Sancti Cuthberti posuit.'

'In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Ego Ethelstanus rex do Sancto Cuthberto hunc textum Evangeliorum, ij casulas, et j albam, et j stolam cum manipulo, et j eingulum, et ij altaris cooperimenta, et j calicem argenteum, et ij patenas, alteram auro paratam, alteram Græco opere fabrefactam, et j turribulum argenteum, et j crucem auro et ebore artificiose paratam, et j regium pilleum auro textum, et ij tabulas auro et argento fabrefactas, et ij candelabra argentea auro parata, et j missale, et ij Evangeliorum textus auro et argento ornatos, et j Sancti Cuthberti Vitam metricè et prosaice scriptam, et vij pallia, et ij cortinas, et tres tapetia, et ij coppas argenteas cum cooperculis, et iij magnas campanas, et ij cornua auro et argento fabrefacta, et ij vaxilla, et j lanceam, et ij armillas aureas, et meam villam dilectam Wirenuthe Australem cum suis appendentiis, id est, Westun, Uffertun, Syleeswarthe, duas Reofhoppas, Byrdne, Seham, Setun, Daltun, Daldene, Heseldene. Haec omnia do sub Dei et Sancti Cuthberti testimonio, ut si quis inde aliquid abstulerit, damnetur in die iudicii cum Juda traditore, et tridatur in ignem æternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus.' *Hist. de S. Cuthberto, Auctore Anonymo.* (51 Surt. Soc. Publ. p. 149.)

⁵¹ 'Est autem incepta M. xcij. Dominicae incarnationis anno, pontificatus autem Willielmi 13, ex quo autem monachi in Dunelmum convenerant xj. tertio Idus Augusti, feria quinta. Eo enim die episcopus et qui post eum secundus erat in ecclesia Prior Turgotus cum caeteris fratribus primos in fundamento lapides posuerunt. Nam paulo ante, id est quarto Kal. Augusti feria sexta idem episcopus et prior facta cum fratribus oratione ac data benedictione, fundamentum coeperant fodere.' *S. Dunelm. Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 8.*

'Ecclesia nova Dunelmi est incepta . . . episcopo Willielmo, et Malcholmo rege Scottorum, et Turgoto Priore ponentibus primos in fundamento lapides.' *Sim. Dunelm. De Gestis Regum Anglor.*

Some of the earlier shields after Pudsey are blank, since no authentic arms have been discovered, and probably those bishops did not bear arms. The armorial fictions of the Tudor age are discarded, as having no authority.

At the end of the aisles on the east wall are the arms (impaled with those of the see) of the original consecrator of the chapel (A.D. 1661) and of the late restorer (A.D. 1879).

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Among other works connected with the restoration may be mentioned the following :—

1. *The Angels above the Arcade*.—The ancient corbel shafts which had supported the ancient roof before Cosin added the clearstorey, were rendered purposeless by this addition. They are now made to bear figures of angels with expanded wings. These angels were carved by W. de Wispelaere.

2. *The Choir Stalls*.—These being necessary, were designed to be in general harmony with the other stall-work of the chapel.

3. *The Canopy of the Bishop's Stall*.—This was given (as was also the book-desk on the holy table) by the students of Auckland castle. Accordingly it bears the inscription :—

EX . DONO . FILIORVM . DOMVS . A.S. MDCCCLXXXVII.

Such were the works of restoration and enrichment carried out by the late bishop Lightfoot, the account of which—as adding greatly to the interest attached to them—I have taken almost literally from his own pen. Everything, I may add, that scholarly erudition, artistic skill, and devoted love backed by unstinted means could do, has been done, and done thoroughly. Incomplete, no doubt, as compared with the minute comprehensiveness of Cosin's scheme, all is yet, so far as it has gone, the best that modern art could compass, and higher praise cannot therefore be given it.

Like his famous predecessor Cosin, bishop Lightfoot lies interred in the midst of his work. Cosin's tomb, as that of the founder of the chapel, occupies, very properly, and in strict accordance with mediaeval precedent, the central place. Bishop Lightfoot's, which is in line with it, one immediately in front of the altar platform, where, surrounded by his special works of restoration and adornment, it enjoys a like

distinction. It is composed of a large slab of black marble bearing an admirably designed and deeply incised sculptured cross of the form known heraldically as 'potent quadrate,' that is, whose centre and extremities expand into squares, and which, carried on a stepped stem, occupies the entire field within the border. Two lengths, or strips, of conventionally fruited vine branches are displayed in narrow sunken panels on either side of the shaft, above whose transverse limbs appear the sacred monogram, or rebus, A. Ω., in Greek capitals, and beneath them the words—*ανδριζεσθε. κραταιωσθε.*⁵²

Around the border is cut the following inscription in Lombardic minuscules :—

HIC. REQUIESCIT. IN. PAGE. IOSEPHUS. BARBER |
LIGHTFOOT. EPISCOPUS. DUNELMENSIS. ORATOR.
SCRIPTOR. MAGISTER. DOCTRINA. ELOQUENTIA.
CANDORE. PAENE. PROPRIO | FIDEM CHRISTI.
VINDICAVIT. ECCLESIAE. ORIGINES | ILLUSTRAVIT.
INGENIO. ET. MORIBUS. SUOS. SIBI. DEVINXIT.
POSTEROS. BENEFICIIS. NATUS. MDCCCXXVIII. OBIIT.
MDCCCLXXXIX.

Had his life but been prolonged, his works, extensive as they are, would yet, doubtless, have been still further extended; and so, in a purer taste than that of the seventeenth century, have restored to the building that completeness and perfection in every part, which so signally distinguished those of Cosin.

The most serious loss, and that which at present calls out most loudly for renewal, is the scandalously destroyed painting and gilding of the roof, more especially in its eastern compartments. And next to this, perhaps, the proper cleaning of the beautiful arch-moulds of the arcades. They have already, it is true, been subjected to a certain, but very objectionable, treatment—one which contrives to err at the same time both in defect and in excess. In defect, because the coats of white, and dark blue or black wash with which they had been covered were very imperfectly removed: in excess, because the joints

⁵² "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." *Rev.* I. 8.

"Quit you like men, be strong." *I. Cor.* XVI. 13.

"I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing." *John*, XV. 1, 2, 5.

instead of being left alone, as most, if not all of them, might, and should have been, were plastered over in vile modern fashion with dark nut-brown cement for an inch or more on either side. The result has, of course, been to impart an equally offensive and false character to them throughout, by making them look not only scabby, but ill-worked, which they are not.

Lastly, the surfaces of the walls need similar cleansing, by clearing away their several coats of many coloured wash, down to the bare plaster. This should, then, be either painted or distempered in permanent, but subdued, tints and patterns, thus bringing the whole interior into solemn and harmonious unity. That the really fine reredos would gain as much in impressiveness as splendour by the free use of gold and colour in every part goes, I may add, without saying. Precedents without number might be adduced for such a course. It would then, as it should do, and in a minor degree, indeed, does now, form a grand and fitting climax to the whole, which would thereby become not merely complete but—*perfect*.



SEAL OF BISHOP BECK.
(Reduced from that in Raine's *Auckland Castle*.)

APPENDIX I.

BISHOP COSIN'S ALTAR PLATE.*



BIBLE.

This, with the Book of Common Prayer, both of which are of the same size and bound exactly alike, form two magnificent volumes. Save that the pile of the velvet of the covers has been worn away, and that it has been split at the joints, both volumes, inside and out, are in the most perfect and beautiful

* See *Proc. Soc. Antiq., Newc.*, vol. v. p. 193, for another account of the plate, etc., and at p. 251 for description of small Elizabethan communion cup, presented by bishop Lightfoot.

condition imaginable; and even the fraying away of the velvet does little or nothing to detract from the splendour of the colouring, a perfect blaze of gold and crimson. The backs are of velvet only, without metal or lettering, the leaves richly gilt, and the volumes fastened with pairs of clasps. The decoration is thus confined to the sides, which, in each case, are both alike. The whole of it is admirably proportioned to the surfaces to which it is applied, being as full and rich as was possible without overdoing. The four corner plates, four inches square, are composed of winged cherubic heads in high relief, set in richly embossed scroll work, of which the chasing and all, even the minutest details, are as sharp and perfect as when first done. Four small, detached, winged cherubs' heads are set between these towards the edges; two others with scroll work composing the fastenings of the clasps; while the centre is filled with a great pierced oval panel, measuring seven and a quarter by six and a quarter inches, containing the arms of the see impaling Cosin, and surmounted by the mitre and coronet of the Prince Palatine, curiously combined. The latter is composed of strawberry leaves, and out of it issues the mitre which appears in high relief, the points finishing in crosses, and having its own proper fillet jewelled like that of the coronet. The infulae take the form of long, flowing ribbons, elaborately twisted, and filling up the space between the arms and the enclosing border. This last, which is highly enriched and about an inch and a quarter in diameter, contains in very freely and most beautifully drawn, raised, flowing Roman capitals, in front—OCVLI · DOMINI · SVPER · IVSTOS · ET · AVRES · EIVS · IN · PRECES · EORVM. On back:—DEVS · NOVISSIME · LOCVTVS · EST · NOBIS · PER · FILIVM. It is beautifully printed in black letter on fine, thick, cream tinted paper, as clean and crisp as when issued from the press. The height is seventeen and a quarter, and the breadth eleven and one-eighth inches. There are two pictorial title-pages, the first consisting of an architectural composition containing David playing on the harp between Moses and Aaron at the top, two figures underneath at the sides, and below, Solomon seated on his throne supported by twelve lions, and with the princes of the twelve tribes on either hand. On the centre panel, 'The Holy | Bible | Containing the Bookes | of the Old & New | Testament | Cambridge | Printed by John Field | Printer to the Vniverfitie. | And illustrated wth Chorogra = | phical Sculpts by J. Ogilby | 1660.'

Second Title.—This consists of an engraved page showing the arms and tribal distinctions of the twelve patriarchs to the right, in stiff scroll work, and three-quarter figures of the twelve apostles to the left in like setting. Above and below appear the four evangelists with their symbols. On the central panel, 'The Holy | Bible | containing | The Old | Testament | and | The New. | Newly Translated out of | the original Tongues. | And with the former Translation | diligently compared and revised, | by His Majesties special | commandment. | Appointed to be read in Charches. | London : | Printed by Robert Barker, | Printer to the Kings most Excellent | Majestie : And by the Assignes of | John Bill. 1640.' Title to the New Testament the same, but dated 1639.

PRAYER BOOK.

Same size as Bible, and enriched with similar decorations. On front oval panel:—HABENT · MOYSES · ET · PROPHETAS · AVDIANT · ILLOS. On back:—FIANT · PRECES · ET · SVPPPLICATIONES · PRO · OMNIBVS. Engraved title page composed of a circular, peristyled, domical temple. Above it on a scroll:—‘The Book of Common Prayer.’ Above the doorway:—‘Domus Orationis.’ Around the base, men, women and children entering in. To right, a blind beggar sitting with his dog, attached to him by a string. Beneath, on a scroll:—‘London Printed by John Bill & Christopher Barker, Printers to the King’s most Excell^t Mat^{le} Ianbatifta Caespers Inven. D. Loggan, Sculp.’

This impression is a very brilliant one. Paper similar to that of Bible. Rubricated margins; top, three inches; bottom, four and a half inches; and sides, four and three-quarter inches broad. Black letter; and condition, like that of Bible, clean, crisp and spotless.

PATENS.

Of these there are three; two, alike, forming a pair; the third, a single one of a different pattern.

I.—Plain silver gilt paten, six and a half inches diameter, slightly sunk centre. Round border:—✠ PANIS QVEM FRANGIMVS COMMVNIO CORPORIS CHRISTI EST. In centre: arms of See (plain cross) impaling Cosin, with mantling, all simply engraved. Above arms of See, knightly helmet barred and shown *affrontée*, surmounted by an earl’s coronet, out of which springs an enormously exaggerated balloon-like mitre, finishing with knobs. Above bishop’s arms, similar helmet, surmounted by a crest of demi-eagle. Above, on a scroll:—SANCTITAS DOMINO. Below:—SANCTA SANCTIS. On back:—I. H. S. ✠

II.—The other two, finer and heavier ones, which form a pair, are somewhat larger, being seven inches in diameter. Centres more deeply sunk than in the smaller one. Same inscriptions, in similar incised lettering. In centre, arms of France (modern), England, Ireland, and Scotland, impaling France modern, the latter in dimidiation, all surmounted by an arched crown of French, or ogee shape, supported by palm branches. On back, same arms as on smaller paten. Above:—SANCTITAS DOMINO. Below:—SANCTA SANCTIS.

CHALICES.

Of these there are two, both of large size, covered, and of great height.

I.—Chalice, nine and a half inches high—with cover, thirteen inches high. The foot which is, as in mediaeval examples, flattish, is moulded, and in ten rounded lobes, containing in the front one the arms of the See impaling Cosin as on patens; to left, on a scroll, SANCTA SANCTIS; to the right, SANCTITAS DOMINO; and at back, arms of France (modern) England, Scotland, and Ireland, impaling France (modern) under a French shaped crown, and surrounded with palm leaves. Large, bold, central knob with beaded mouldings

above and below—between foot and bowl. Cup plain, inscribed in incised letters near top :—✠ POCVLVM BENEDICTIONIS CUI BENEDICIMVS COMMVNIO SANGVINIS CHRISTI est.

The cover, which is well designed, and enriched with two belts of foliated ornament, terminates in a pine cone. The flat rim is considerably cracked and bent from many falls. All the rest is in perfect condition. Diameter of foot six inches.

II.—Quite plain : foot circular, higher and more pyramidal than first, and six and one-eighth inches diameter. Forms of stem and bowl almost identical with those of the other chalice. On front of foot, a coat of arms of six quarters surmounted by a helmet closed, in profile, with crest of an eagle, in mantlings. To left, so slightly punctuated as to be almost invisible, arms of Cosin, with crest above helmet shewn *affrontée*. At back, a plain cross set upright in the ground : and to right, punctuated, but again, so slightly as to be all but invisible, the arms of the See beneath helmet, shewn *affrontée*, and surmounted by mitre with earl's coronet in one piece. On one side of bowl, slightly punctuated :—SANCTA SANCTIS ; on other, SANCTITAS DOMINO.

Cover, which follows lines of first, but plain, and, like it, finishes in a pine cone, has round lower moulding :—∴ ✠ POCVLVM BENEDICTIONIS CUI BENEDICIMVS COMMVNIO SANGVINIS CHRISTI EST. ∴

The rim, though slightly bent, is otherwise perfect.

On the cover is a small sunk panel with the initials W.H. Under the foot, inside, is an incised inscription which follows the outline and runs thus :—CHRISTO . IN . CRUCE . TRIUMPHANTI . ET . ECCLESIAE . ANGLICANÆ . ROB. HYDE . REVICTVRVS . D . C . Q . A^o . M . D . C . L . ÆTATIS . SVÆ . VICESIMO . PENE . PRIMO . QVI . BIBIT . MEVM . SANGVINEM . EGO . RESVSCITABO . ILLVM . 1650.

FLAGONS.

Of these there are two, forming a pair. They are of the same magnificent character and pattern as the alms-dish, thirteen and one eighth inches high, and six and three quarter inches in diameter. Scroll shaped, chased handles.

I.—On one side, medallion displaying the Resurrection in high relief, with clouds : Roman guards falling back to right and left, affrighted. On the other corresponding medallion is shewn the Journey to Emmaus. Upon the lid appears a mitre, of good late mediæval shape, with infulæ : below it and quite distinct, ducal coronet with strawberry leaves. Alongside, crest of eagle. Magnificent foliated scroll decoration throughout. In front, in a small medallion, arms of Sec impaling Cosin within wreaths of laurel branches.

II.—Same, generally, as before ; but on panels appear, first, the Ascension, the lower half of Our Lord's figure only visible at the top. On the other, what is perhaps intended to represent the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. There are some difficulties, however, in so regarding it. In the first place, there are only eleven Apostles present instead of twelve. Then the

central figure, around which the rest are grouped, is that of the Blessed Virgin Mary. And thirdly, must be taken into account the absence of the 'cloven tongues.' It would seem more likely, or at any rate more *correctly*, therefore, to show the first assembly of the Church after the Lord's Ascension in the 'upper room,' as recorded in Acts i. 13, 14:—'And when they were come in, they went up into an upper room, where abode both Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, Philip, and Thomas, Bartholomew, and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James. These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.' With this account the scene would correspond exactly.

CANDLESTICKS.

Of these there are a pair, which, according to the bishop's injunctions, are fully, indeed something over, three feet high to the top of the silver-gilt spikes. Though equally rich, they differ somewhat in design and character from the flagons and salver, or alms-dish. The very massive and solid bases, which are eight and three-quarter inches high, and on plan, composed of hollow spherical triangles with the points or angles broadly and flatly cut off, are supported by ball and claw feet. The angles are 'shaped,' *i.e.*, formed of compound curves, and in their upper parts enriched with cherubic heads and busts springing, or emerging from, drapery. Their wings, which are raised aloft, are carried along the edges upwards to the summit. On the three intermediate panels are, (first) arms of the See impaling Cosin; (second) his crest of the eagle; (third) mitre with infulae above ducal coronet, all within wreaths. Winged cherubic heads and open scroll work occupy the central parts of the stems which expand at top into broad, shallow basins decorated with acanthus leaves, from which issue the spikes, nearly six inches long. The workmanship and preservation, as well as the design, are magnificently perfect, and the effect of the whole—superb.

ALMS DISH.

This magnificent piece, which is embossed throughout in high relief, measures no less than twenty-one and a quarter inches in diameter; the centre, which is sunk to the depth of one inch and a half, being thirteen and five-eighth inches diameter. It contains, within a bordure of scroll work and drapery, the subject of the Last Supper, arranged, from the necessity of the case, circularly. Our Lord, who sits under a canopy of state to the centre at the back, is in the act of giving the sop to Judas, who occupies a position in the right foreground. All the heads are full of diversified character and expression, that of the Saviour being especially fine, sad, and dignified. S. John who is apparently kneeling immediately in front of Him, looks from the fact, perhaps, of His figure being concealed below the elbow, no bigger than a child, or youth. Nothing more perfect, however, than the brilliancy, richness, and sharpness of all the details of this splendid composition could possibly be conceived.

On the border, which has a breadth of three and three-quarter inches, are four subjects set between highly embossed, cornuated scroll-work ornaments resembling ammonites. That at the top shows the Journey to Emmaus ; that to the left, the Flight into Egypt ; that to the right, the Agony in the Garden ; and that below, the Temptation. Our Lord is there shown in a landscape, walking, and addressing another figure who is approaching him, habited as a pilgrim, with staff, and bottle slung at his waist, hooded, and holding some small object in his hand. At first sight the scene is far from easy of interpretation. The object held in the advanced hand of the second figure is very small and indistinct. It is only when you come to examine the feet that the true nature of the scene is revealed. The right foot of the 'Pilgrim Father'—the furthest from the spectator—shows the 'cloven hoof.' The small object then resolves itself into—*this stone*, as S. Luke has it ; and we see—what otherwise we should never have been able to guess—that the wooded landscape represents the wilderness, and the incident, the Temptation there.

On the back, and faintly engraved, are the arms of the See impaling Cosin. Mitre with infulæ, perfect and distinct ; and coronet, with strawberry leaves, equally distinct, immediately below. Crest, an eagle.

APPENDIX II.

THE PAINTED GLASS (p. 220).

The three east windows, though very good in general effect, as well as in the design and colouring of their details, are of ordinary fifteenth-century character, and call for no particular notice. The whole of the side windows are, however, differently treated, being at once larger in their scale of drawing ; more distinctly pictorial ; of higher artistic excellence ; and, as regards the chief parts of their composition, thoroughly Renaissance in character. Of the six—three on each side—the two westernmost are decidedly the best, whether as regards colouring, composition, or detail. But the tracery lights of all are of the highest excellence, leaving nothing to be desired. In those of the north-eastern one especially, the treatment is altogether admirable—and of the purest and most beautiful fourteenth-century type. Nothing, indeed, could be more charming than the figures of SS. Edwin, Paulinus, and Oswald, or the groundwork in which they are set. Nor are the larger single figures in the roundels of the other four windows, though treated in a somewhat different fashion, less praiseworthy. Of the four, representing respectively S. Aidan, S. Hilda, Ven. Bede, and S. Cuthbert, it would be difficult—where all are so good—to say which excelled ; though, perhaps, the palm might be assigned to S. Aidan, and Ven. Bede who is shown in extreme old age, seated in a chair. Both are perfectly beautiful figures.

Of those in the tracery lights of the south-east window, however, representing king Alfred, bishop Aldhune, and prior Turgot, though the drawing is good enough, the colour, especially that in the dress of the two ecclesiastics, is far too black—a fault which no true mediaevalist would ever have committed. In Durham cathedral, where several small original figures of monks are preserved, the dress, so far from being represented by either dead black or anything distantly approaching it, is shown of a palish, but distinct sky-blue—just as even nowadays the stripes and ports and tops of ships in mourning, and supposed to be *in black*, are done.

On the whole, with regard to the main subjects occupying the field, or central portion of the windows, the least satisfactory is, I think, that to the north-east, where S. Oswald is shown erecting the cross before the battle of Heavensfield. Besides being somewhat too large, perhaps, like the rest, the figure of the king looks too theatrical (to my own mind, always suggestive of having just stepped out of Mrs. Jarley's, or some kindred wax-work show). It is interesting to know that, as in many other cases (possibly all), the face of Oswald is a portrait. that, viz., of Edgar Lambert, once student at Auckland castle under bishop Lightfoot, and now chaplain to the Seamen's Mission on the Mersey.

The next window, westwards, which illustrates the life and labours of S. Aidan, is much more satisfactory, and altogether a very fine work. In the lower right hand picture, which shows S. Finan, second bishop of Lindisfarne, baptizing Peada, king of the Middle Anglians, the face of the saint is a portrait of the late bishop Selwyn of Melanesia, as *Missionary Bishop*.

The following, or north-westernmost window, illustrative of the life of S. Hilda, has for its main subject an exceedingly fine seated figure of that famous abbess, surrounded by groups of kings and bishops. Behind the latter, and habited as a simple Benedictine monk, appears, as I think, the portrait effigy of bishop Lightfoot. In respect of drawing, colouring, and general effect, this window is one of the very best pieces of modern work in stained glass that I have seen.

Beginning with the east window on the south side—this, like the one opposite is, in general, much less satisfactory than the rest. The figures in the main subject, king Athelstan presenting his offerings at the shrine of S. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, are too large and crowded, and the effect of the whole comparatively inferior and unpleasing.

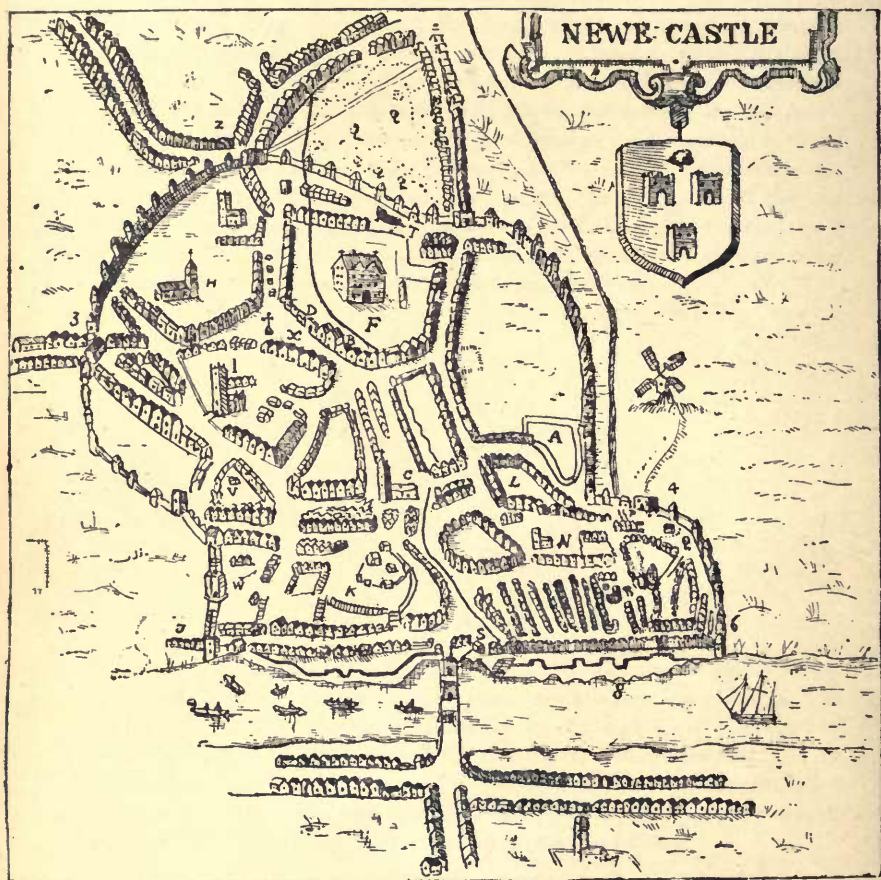
The next, or central one, illustrating the labours of Benedict Biscop and Ven. Bede, fine as it is in other respects, has, again, in the principal picture representing the building of the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, the figures somewhat too large, and all—and there are no others to relieve them—are distinctly too black. The colour, which is of a dark, purplish indigo tint, is too deep even for small subjects—more especially therefore for a large one, and when, as here, used throughout and exclusively. It is interesting to know that, though shewn of taller stature, the figure of Benedict Biscop, holding the

ground plan of Jarrow, presents a portrait of the present bishop (Dr. Westcott) as the chief architectural friend and adviser of his predecessor, bishop Lightfoot.

The sixth, or south-westernmost window, exhibiting scenes from the life of S. Cuthbert, and displaying his effigy pontifically vested in the roundel, is, like its opposite and corresponding one, in all respects admirable. The large central picture, which exhibits his consecration, is a very impressive and beautiful composition. It is all the more noteworthy, too, as presenting numerous portraits of bishop Lightfoot's personal friends. Of the eight figures assisting in the act the portraits, if such they be, of the first and eighth—that is the extreme ones to the right and left—are unknown. The second, however, to the spectator's left, is that of archbishop Benson; the third, that of the late bishop Selwyn; the fourth, that of the late bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln; the fifth, of the late archbishop Tait, consecrating; the sixth, that of the late bishop Fraser of Manchester; and the seventh, that of the late bishop Harold Browne of Winchester. As to the figure of S. Cuthbert himself, the back being necessarily towards the spectator, the face is unseen.

NOTE.—The thanks of the society are due to Mr. Knowles for kindly inking in the pencilled outlines of the various mouldings given in the plates; and to Mr. H. Kilburn, of Bishop Auckland, for the use of the photographic negatives from which the two interior views of the chapel have been reproduced. I may add that the quotations from documents bearing directly upon the construction of the building, the *substantial* accuracy of which there is no reason to doubt, are taken from the late Dr. Raine's *History of Auckland Castle*.

J. F. H.



REPRODUCED FROM SPEED'S MAP OF NEWCASTLE OF 1610.

(The block kindly lent by the Editor of the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*.)

IX.—THE SIX NEWCASTLE CHARES DESTROYED BY
THE FIRE OF 1854.

By F. W. DENDY, a Member of the Council.

[Read on the 29th April, 1896.]

PRIOR to the occurrence of the great fire of 1854, twenty chares or lanes led up from the Quayside of Newcastle to Butcher bank, Dog bank, and Pandon, between the Sandhill and Sandgate.

As Mr. Boyle has pointed out,¹ and as may be clearly seen by referring to any of the old maps of the town, from Speed's map of 1610 (see reproduction of this map herewith, plate XXIX.), to that of Oliver in 1831 (see a portion of this reproduced on page 243), the westernmost chares, lying within the original boundary of the town of Newcastle, between the Sandhill and Broad chare, differ in arrangement from the easternmost chares, lying within the ancient hamlet of Pandon, between Broad chare and Sandgate.

The old Newcastle chares are straight or nearly straight, parallel or nearly parallel with each other, and of an approximately regular width. They were probably built under a stronger system of local government than then existed in Pandon, and they appear to have been formed before Pandon was added to Newcastle in 1299.

They resemble closely the rows leading to the Quay at Great Yarmouth, which were built at an equally early date. The Yarmouth rows are still more straight and regular than the Newcastle Quayside chares. The photographs of Yarmouth rows, which I produce, show the resemblance of which I speak.

The fire of 1854 is not ancient history. Many of those who are now present saw its flames and heard the explosion which hurled the burning matter over the river from the Gateshead side, and so set on fire the houses standing on Newcastle quay. Full accounts of the occurrence have been published, and one, and perhaps the best of such accounts, is contained in the *Newcastle Monthly Chronicle* for December, 1888.²

¹ *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*, p. 181.

² *Newcastle Monthly Chronicle* for 1888, p. 549. See also *An Account of the Great Fire and Explosion*, etc., with a plan of that part of the town destroyed,

Among the minor effects of the force of the explosion, was the bending of the bar which fastened the door at the entrance to the great hall of the castle. This shortened the reach of the bar so that it could not be fixed into the original socket. It was found easier to drive in another temporary staple than to unbend the bar. That temporary staple and the bent bar are still in use, and bear witness that even the strongest building in the town felt the violence of the shock.

The fire made its way from the Quayside through four of the chares as far as the Butcher bank. A large block of closely built warehouses and buildings lying between Butcher bank on the north, the Quayside on the south, Dark chare on the west, and Plummer chare on the east, was burnt to the ground, and several houses on the Quayside to the eastward of Plummer chare were also destroyed.

The corporation of Newcastle took advantage of the opportunity which was then offered for making new streets and improvements on that part of the area cleared by the fire, which lay between the two chares above-mentioned. An act authorising them to do this and to purchase the property required for the purpose was passed in 1855.³ Three new streets, now known as Lombard street, Queen street, and King street, were laid out by Mr. John Dobson, the architect for the corporation, and in June, 1856, the sites adjoining those streets were advertized to be offered by auction; and handsome new stone buildings, principally used as offices, have since been erected on the sites.

The making of these new streets, effaced from the map of Newcastle six chares, lying between Dark chare and Plummer chare, namely Grindon chare, Blue Anchor chare, Peppercorn chare, Pallister's chare, Colvin's chare, and Hornsby's chare.

The old title deeds of the houses formerly situated in those chares passed from their various owners to the corporation, and from the corporation to Mr. Ralph Walters. The history of his purchase of the sites is fully narrated in the memoir of his life contained in Mr.

published by Lambert, Newcastle, 1854; and *A Record of the Great Fire of Newcastle and Gateshead* by J. R. (James Rewcastle), published by George Routledge & Co., 1855.

³ The Newcastle-upon-Tyne Improvement Act, 1855, (18 & 19 Vic. cap. XCIX).

Welford's *Men of Mark*.⁴ By the kindness of Mr. Thomas George Gibson, his successor in title, I have been permitted to inspect the early deeds which Mr. Walters thus acquired.



They throw considerable light on the varying nomenclature of the chares, and add a little to our knowledge of the connections and belongings of some of the Newcastle merchants who held property there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

⁴ Vol. iii. p. 563.

All the historians of Newcastle who have described its chares mention that their names have varied from time to time. It is stated that the names by which some of them were known were derived from the persons who lived in them, but it was more generally some person who lived or had lived at the Quayside entrance to the chare whose name was bestowed upon it.

Bourne⁵ and Brand⁶ mention the names of several chares which they have been unable to identify on account of this varying nomenclature. Two or three of these are now identified by the names given to them in the title deeds of properties abutting on them. The lists of names given to the chares in Bourne's map⁷ and Brand's history served to fix the nomenclature which then existed, and it did not vary after their time.

Of late years a list of more ancient names of some of the chares has been discovered in Gray's manuscript additions to the copy of his *Chorographia* belonging to Lord Northbourne, and these more ancient names also correspond with names given in the deeds.

I have therefore thought it worth while to make a comparative list of the names in Brand's history, Bourne's map, Gray's manuscript, and the deeds I have inspected, and I have comprised in that list the westernmost chare, called Dark chare, which was not obliterated after the fire, but still exists in its original position. The list is given on the opposite page.

Russell's chare and Roskel chare are mentioned in a record of 20th January, 1336, set out in Mr. Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*.⁸ Grindon chare may have been so named after Thomas Grindon, who was bailiff of Newcastle from 1388 to 1396. It is mentioned by that name in 1394.⁹ Walter Grendon was prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in 1404.¹⁰ There is a tradition that the knights of that order had a chapel in Grindon chare,¹¹ and an illustration of the building which is supposed to have been the

⁵ Bourne's *History of Newcastle*, p. 133.

⁶ Brand's *History of Newcastle*, i. p. 22.

⁷ Bourne's map dated 1736 was simply copied from Corbridge's map dated 1723.

⁸ Vol. i. pp. 95 and 96.

⁹ Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, i. 217.

¹¹ Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, ii. 198.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 238.

LIST OF CHARES.

Brand's History, 1789.	Bourne's Map, 1736.	Gray's Manuscript, circa 1649.	Mr. Gibson's Title Deeds.
1. The Dark chare ...	The Dark chare	Not mentioned ...	Bottle chare. Dark chare.
2. Grinding chare ...	Granden chare ...	Grunden chaire...	Russell's chare. ¹² Grinden chare. Grunden chare.
3. Blew Anchor chare	Blew Anker chare ¹³	Not mentioned ...	Rode's chare. ¹⁴ Robinson's chare. Harrison's chare. Blue Anchor chare.
4. Peppercorn chare	Peppercorn chare	Collman chaire...	Norham chare. ¹⁵ Norran's lane. Coalman's chare. Coalman chare. Coleman Pepper chare. Pepper lane. Pepper Colman chare. Peppercorn chare.
5. Palester's chare ...	Palester chare ...	Hayward's chaire	Howarth's chare. Hawarth's chare. Hayworth's chare. ¹⁶ Black Boy chare. Errington chare.
6. Colwin's chare ...	Colvin's chare ...	Shipman chaire	Pallister's chare. ¹⁷ Shipman's chare. Elmer's chare, with many slight variations. ¹⁸ Crome's chare.
7. Hornsby's chare, <i>alias</i> Maryon House lane.	Hornby chare ...	Hornby chaire ...	Armorer's chare. ¹⁹ Colvin's chare. Hornsby's chare.

¹² Cf. Brand's unidentified Roskel's chare, *temp.* Edward III.¹³ The 'anker' was a measure for liquids. 'Monday, arrived at Leith the 'True Briton' of Folkstone, from Ostend, with about 200 ankers of brandy and gin.'—The *Newcastle Chronicle* for 20th December, 1783. There is a Blue Anchor Inn on the south bank of the Thames below Gravesend.¹⁴ Cf. Brand's unidentified Gor chayr, *alias* Rod's chayr, A.D. 1432.¹⁵ Cf. Bourne's unidentified Norham chare.¹⁶ Cf. Brand's unidentified Heworth's chare, *temp.* Richard III.¹⁷ Michael Pallister lived in this chare in 1694.¹⁸ Christopher Elmer, merchant adventurer, died in 1605.¹⁹ This name is not derived (as suggested by Mr. Boyle, *Vestiges*, 174) from the Company of Armorers, but from Francis Armorer, who lived and owned property at the quay end of the chare at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

chapel is given by Mr. Welford at page 362 of the first volume of his history. It was built of stone, with buttresses on the outside, and had a crypt, which was afterwards used as a cellar.²⁰ The records collected by Mr. Welford also mention Heworth chare in 1484,²¹ Hornsby's chare in 1622,²² and Shipman's chare in 1590.²³

The chares contained well-built houses, which had been originally occupied by merchants and tradesmen, but most of the houses not actually fronting the Quayside or the Butcher bank had, towards the close of the last century, been abandoned to less reputable occupiers, who loved darkness rather than light.

Brand, in a letter to Beilby, dated 8th August, 1788, humorously commiserates him for having had to visit 'those dark and suspicious lanes' to verify the names which Brand had given to them in his history. Brand mentions that he had intended to visit them himself very early in the morning that he was in Newcastle, and adds, 'when, if I had been seen either going in or coming out of one of them my character would have been irretrievably gone.'²⁴

Mackenzie, in the inflated diction of the time, writes in 1827 that 'Plumber Chare was noted a few years ago as the receptacle of Cyprian nymphs,' but adds, that the character of the chares had been much altered for the better at the time he wrote, most of the dwelling houses having been converted into granaries, warehouses, maltings, breweries, etc.²⁵

These alterations increased in the same direction, and at the time of the destruction of the chares the buildings in all of them, except Grindon chare, were used for the most part as warehouses.

Grindon chare was somewhat wider than the others. It still contained, in 1854, besides shops and dwelling houses, three inns, the Dun Cow, occupied by Mr. William Teasdale, which had formerly been known as the King's Head tavern, the Golden Anchor, occupied by Mr. William Batey, and the Blue Bell, which was burnt down in the month previous to the great fire.

²⁰ Mackenzie, i. 152.

²¹ Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, i. 386.

²² *Ibid.* iii. 247.

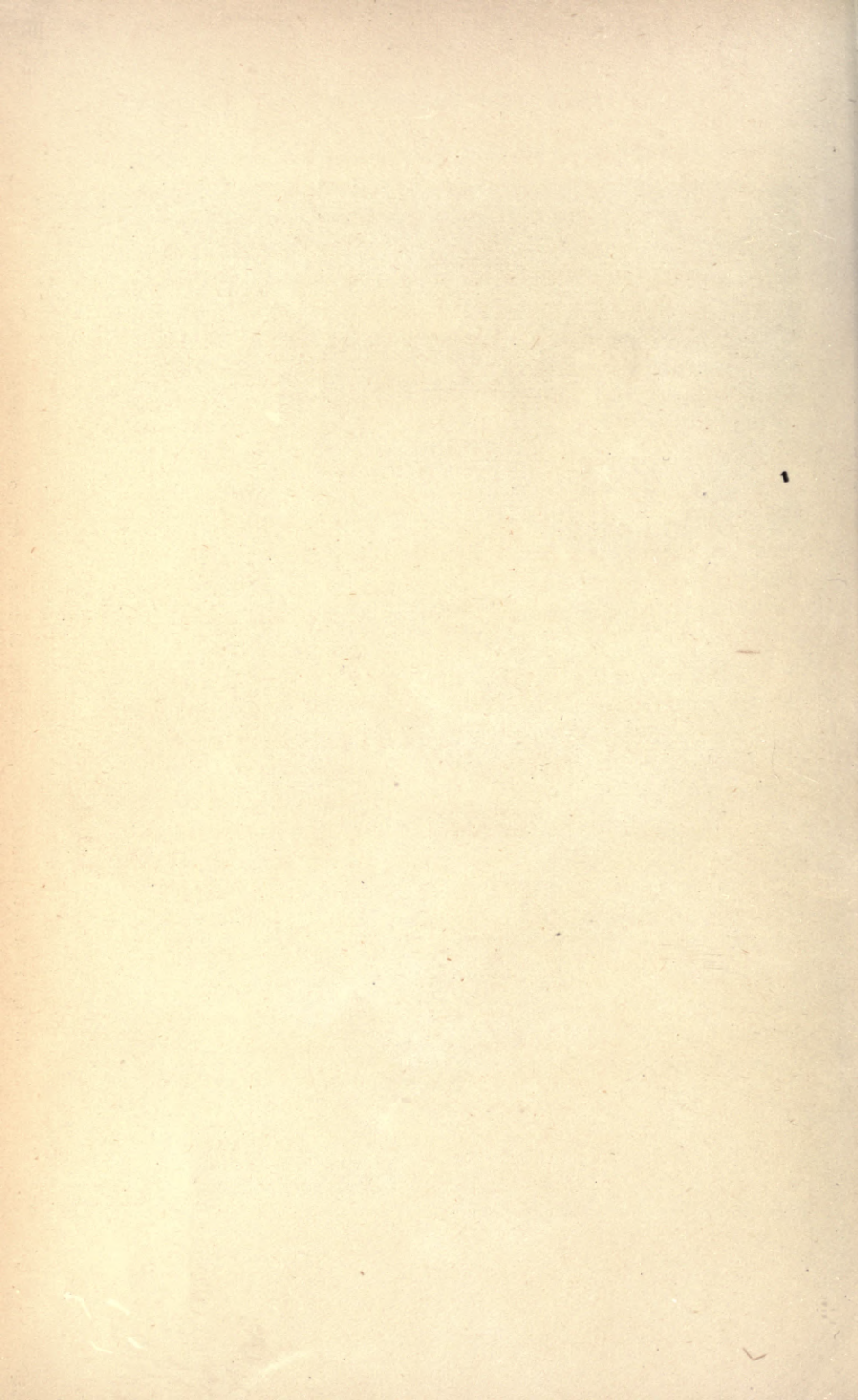
²³ *Ibid.* iii. 60.

²⁴ Newcastle Typographical Tract, *Letters of the Rev. John Brand, A.M., to Mr. Ralph Beilby*, vol. v. pp. 25-27.

²⁵ Mackenzie, i. 164.



THE QUAYSIDE, NEWCASTLE, BEFORE THE FIRE OF 1854. LOOKING WESTWARD.



In Pallister's chare there was an inn called the Prussian arms, and another inn known as the Earl Grey (if the two were not different names for the same house). On the Quayside, between Peppercorn chare and Blue Anchor chare, was a celebrated inn called the Grey Horse, occupied at the time of the fire by Mrs. Pearson. There is a beautiful sketch of this inn in Dibdin's *Northern Tour*.²⁶ It was owned successively by Charles Atkinson,²⁷ George Adams, and James Harding, by whose representatives it was sold to Mr. Ralph Walters. On the Quayside also, between Hornsby's chare and Plummer chare, was another inn which had formerly been known as the Black Bull, and was then known as The Rising Sun. It was occupied at the time of the fire by Mrs. Swallow, and then belonged to the representatives of Addison Langhorne Potter, deceased. Two inns in Butcher bank, namely, the Angel and the Meter's Arms, were also pulled down. The Quay front, from the Sandhill eastwards, as it was before the fire, is very well shown in Richardson's views of old Newcastle (Garland's re-issue).

The easternmost buildings on the Quayside which the fire destroyed were three low gable-fronted houses. the easternmost of which was the Low Crane inn, occupied by Mr. R. T. Allan, the next was a butcher's shop, occupied by Mr. P. Wheatley, and the next was the shop of Mr. John S. Cail, instrument maker. These three houses, and the rest of the destroyed Quay front as far westward as the Grey Horse inn, are well shown in an interesting early photograph which has been lent to me by Mr. C. J. Spence. The photograph must have been taken almost immediately before the occurrence of the fire, for the names of the then occupiers may be seen over their shop fronts. Of this photograph the annexed collotype (plate XXX.) is a reproduction.

Three of the sketches of Newcastle by G. B. Richardson, in the possession of this society, illustrate the subject of my paper. One of them shows Grindon chare as it was in 1848, and the two others are sketches of the head of Plummer chare and of the head of Dark chare respectively. They are both taken from Butcher bank, and are dated in 1843.

²⁶ Vol. i. p. 354.

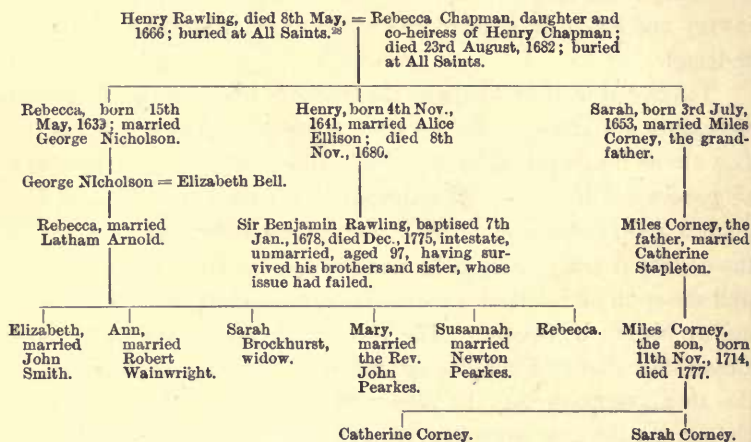
²⁷ Welford's *Men of Mark*, i. 131. Charles Atkinson was sheriff of Newcastle in 1765-6. Mayor in 1775-6, and 1783-4.

Amongst those who held property in Peppercorn chare in the last century was Sir Benjamin Rawling, a grandson of Henry Rawling, merchant adventurer, alderman, and (in 1646-7) mayor of Newcastle.

There is a note in Brand, i. 309 n. as follows :—

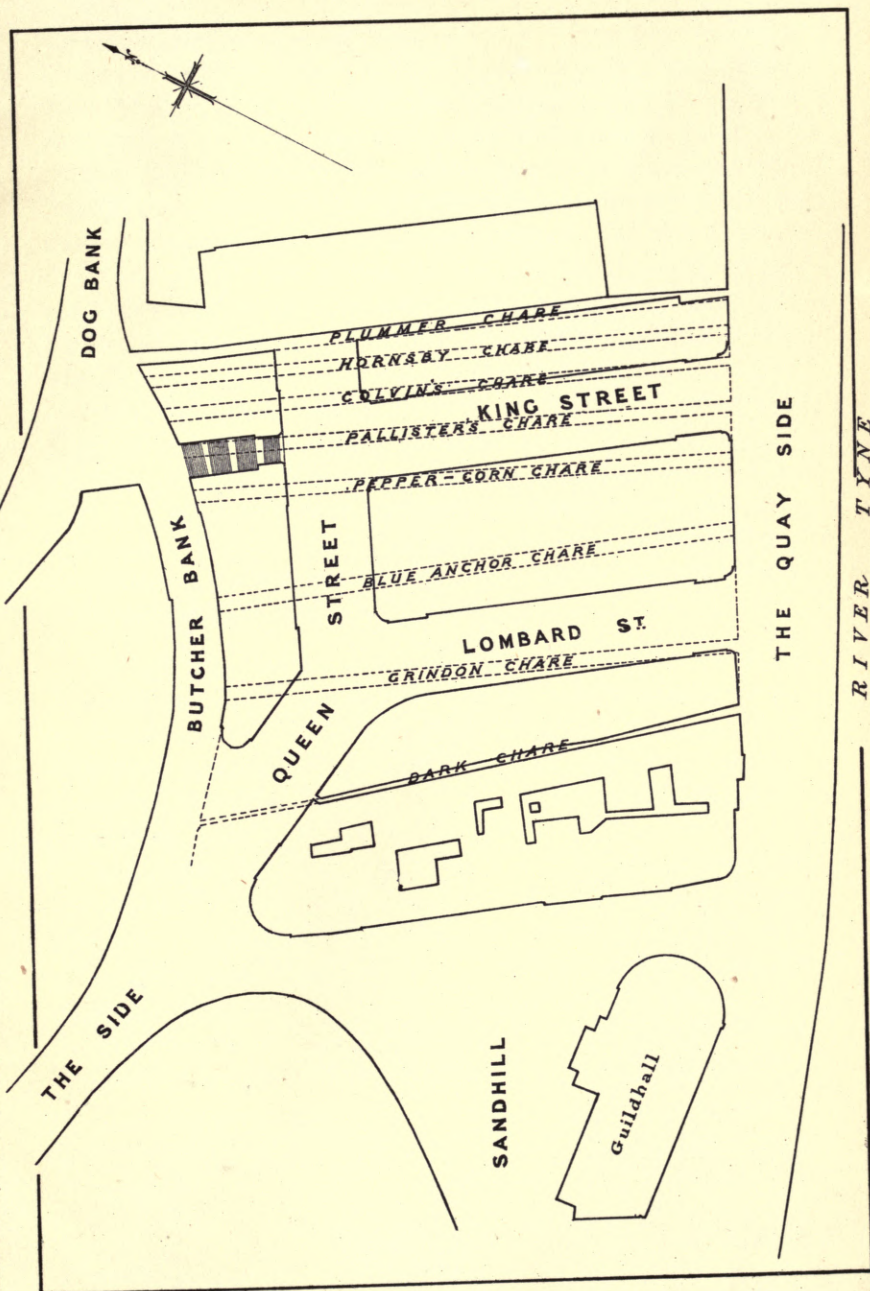
Sir Benjamin Rawling, Knt. (who had been knighted when he served the office of Sheriff of the City of London) dying intestate, at Putteridge in Hertfordshire, in December, 1775, aged 97, his considerable real estate devolved to Mr. Miles Corney, bookseller, at Penrith in Cumberland: and his personal effects, amounting it is said, to upwards of £120,000, to Mrs. Elizabeth Ellison of West Gate, in Newcastle, the only surviving sister of Dr. Ellison. Mrs. Ellison died unmarried, February 12th, 1776, having, with great propriety, left equally among her nephews and nieces the great fortune which had devolved to her as related above.

The following pedigree from the abstract of title of Sir Benjamin Rawling's Peppercorn chare property shows his connection with the Ellisons and the persons who became the heirs to his real estate :—

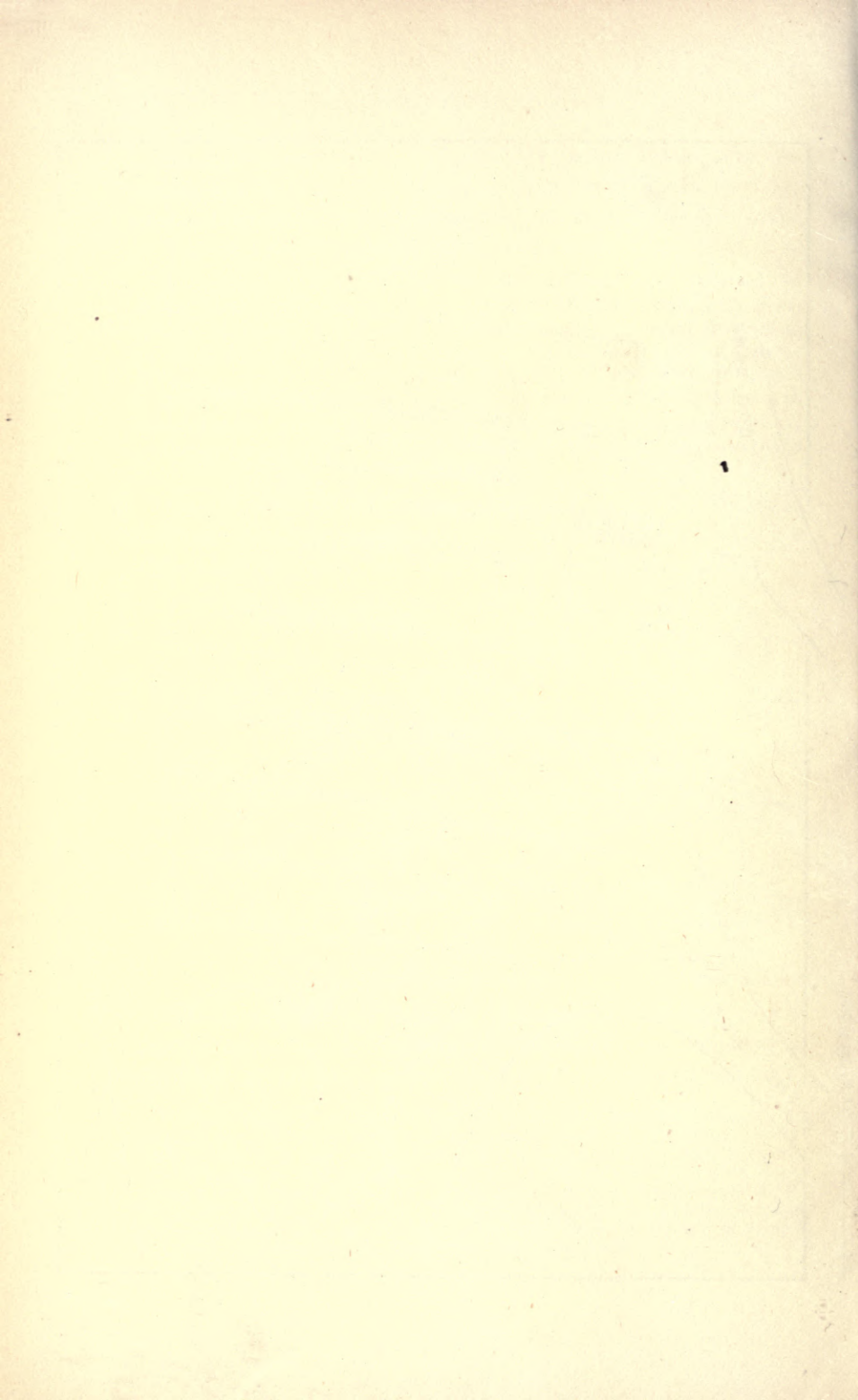


The co-heirs were therefore Sir Benjamin Rawling's first cousins twice removed, namely, (1) Elizabeth Smith, (2) Ann Wainwright, (3) Sarah Brockhurst, (4) Mary Pearkes, (5) Susannah Pearkes, (6)

²⁸ Henry Rawling had thirteen children by his wife, Rebecca Chapman. His monument in All Saints' church (badly copied in Sopwith's *All Saints' Church*) reads :—' Henry Rawlin, merchant-adventurer, alderman, and sometime maior of this town, who married Rebecka, one of the daughters and co-heiress, of Henry Chapman, alderman, by whom he had issue thirteen children. He departed this life the 8th of May, 1666. Henry, his eldest son, who left issue by Alice, daughter of Robert Ellison, six sons and one daughter. He departed the 8th of November, 1680. She departed this life ye 23rd of August, 1682.'



PLAN SHOWING NEW STREETS ON SITE OF DESTROYED CHARES, QUAYSIDE, NEWCASTLE.



Rebecca Arnold, and his first cousin once removed, namely, (7) Miles Corney, the son. The six first-named persons and the daughters of Miles Corney (the son) joined in the conveyance of the late knight's real estates as his co-heirs at law and received the purchase money.

Mrs. Elizabeth Ellison,²⁹ who took the personalty as Sir Benjamin Rawling's next of kin, was his first cousin, and therefore was of nearer relationship than the above-mentioned beneficiaries, but this relationship being on the mother's side did not avail for the realty, which passed preferably to his heirs on the father's side, although they were more remote relations. The real estate was offered by auction on the 24th January, 1777, and according to the particulars of sale it consisted of:—(1) 548 acres of land in the parish of Mitford, offered at the upset price of £12,000; (2) glebe lands and tithes at Mitford, upset price, £8,000; (3) a farm consisting of 46 acres of land at Jarrow called Jarrow wood (probably purchased by the Ellisons), upset price, £1,800; (4) houses on the Quayside between Peppercorn chare on the west and Pallister's chare on the east, upset price, £800, realised price, £830.

The following extracts show a connection between the Cromes of Newcastle (who gave their name for a time to what was finally known as Colvin's chare) with the Herons of Chipchase. These, as well as subsequent extracts, I have simply given *seriatim*, with footnotes containing a few references to other books in which particulars may be found about the persons named in the extracts:—

14th August, 1668.—Thomas Crome³⁰ of Newcastle, merchant, by his will gave unto his wife, Elizabeth Crome, his messuage on the Quayside, Newcastle, between Shipman's chare on the west and Hornsby's chare on the east, and gave to his son, Richard Crome, his messuage on the east side of Haworth *alias* Errington's chare.

3rd January, 1671.—Richard Crome son and heir of Thomas Crome by his will gave the said messuage to his mother Elizabeth Crome.

²⁹ Mrs. Elizabeth Ellison was not the sister of Dr. Ellison, vicar of Newcastle, as stated by Brand, but his daughter and a sister of Nathaniel Ellison M.A., who died 27th February, 1775. She was baptised 25th July, 1693, and died unmarried 12th February, 1776. See the Ellison pedigree in Hodgson, pt. 2. vol. iii. p. 347, and Surtees *Durham*, ii. p. 79.

³⁰ *Newcastle Merchant Adventurers*, vol. i. 135 (Surt. Soc. publications). For the position which the Cromes occupied in the coal trade see Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. iii. p. 242, etc.

5th March, 1687.—Elizabeth Crome by her will gave her messuages on the Quayside to Timothy Robson, esq., merchant and alderman,³¹ Humphrey Pybus, merchant,³² and Matthew White, merchant,³³ all of Newcastle in trust for dame Elizabeth Heron, the wife of sir Cuthbert Heron, bart.,³⁴ reserving a life interest in one messuage to testatrix's sister, Faith Frotheringham.

18th October, 1694.—Dame Elizabeth Heron of Newcastle, widow of Sir Cuthbert Heron, late of Chipchase, bart., deceased conveyed her messuages to Matthew White, George Errington,³⁵ of Newcastle, esq., and Reynold Hall, baker and brewer, to the uses of a fine. In this deed a house in Errington chare is mentioned as being in the possession of Michael Pallister.

6th August, 1695.—Dame Elizabeth Heron by will proved at Durham, 27th November, 1697, gave her messuage on the key, Newcastle, to her mother, Faith Frotheringham, and all her other messuages to her son Cuthbert Heron and his heirs, and in default of heirs to the right heirs of her deceased aunt, Elizabeth Crome, and appointed her mother, Faith Frotheringham, and her said son executors.

13th April, 1699.—Faith Frotheringham by her will gave unto her grandchild, Cuthbert Heron, all her estate, and appointed her friends Matthew White and Mark Browell³⁶ executors. Proved at Durham, 8th July, 1703.

2nd and 3rd August, 1703.—Cuthbert Heron, late of Newcastle, but then of the parish of Chester in the county of Durham, gentleman, conveyed the property to Ralph Sanderson of the Middle Temple and Thomas Hindmarsh of Newcastle, gentleman, to the uses of a fine.

20th and 21st October, 1715.—By marriage settlement between Cuthbert Heron, then of Offerton in the county of Durham, son of

³¹ Brand, i. 299, ii. 495, 497-501. *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 188, 288, 240.

³² *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 153, etc. For a copy of the inscription on the tombstone of Humphrey Pybus, discovered in St. Nicholas' church in 1876, see Welford's *Men of Mark*, iii. 148.

³³ Welford's *Men of Mark*, iii. 317. Brand, i. 112, etc.

³⁴ See the authorities treating of the Heron Pedigree collected in Marshall's *Genealogists' Guide*, 1893 ed., p. 315.

³⁵ This George Errington is of later date than the last George Errington mentioned in Tomlinson's *Denton Hall*, app. vi.

³⁶ Brand, i. 368 n., 378. Mark Browell's pedigree and diary are in Richard son's Reprints, 'Diary of Mark Browell, gent., for Anno Domini 1688.'

Sir Cuthbert Heron late of Chipchase in the county of Northumberland, bart., deceased, and of dame Elizabeth Heron deceased, widow of the said Sir Cuthbert Heron, which said Elizabeth was daughter of Faith Frotheringham, widow, deceased, who was the sister of Elizabeth Crome, widow, deceased, of the first part; Katherine Myddleton of Offerton aforesaid, spinster, one of the daughters of Richard Myddleton, late of Offerton aforesaid, esq., deceased, and of Katherine Myddleton of Offerton aforesaid, widow and relict of the said Richard Myddleton of the second part, and the said Katherine Myddleton, widow, and Francis Myddleton of Offerton, aforesaid, esq., of the third part, the said messuages were settled in special tail on the issue of Cuthbert Heron and Katherine Myddleton.

30th April and 1st May, 1745.—Conveyance from Thomas Heron, late of the city of Durham, esq., and then an ensign in General Handyside's Regiment of Foot, and Elizabeth Heron, then of Offerton, aforesaid, his sister, to Anthony Shepherd, subject to a term of 1,000 years for securing £350 and interest to Thomas Heron.

9th April, 1780.—Assignment of term of 1,000 years from Sir Thomas Heron Myddleton of Bowlby, in the county of York, bart., formerly Sir Thomas Heron to Thomas Allen.

The following extracts refer to Abraham Akenside and Aaron Akenside, the poet's uncles, Mark Akenside, the poet's father, and Dorothy, his sister, all Christian names which emphasize the influence of the remote past. The extracts also identify five generations of Dobsons to whom the Akenside's property in Butcher Bank, now known as Akenside hill, had formerly belonged.

9th December, 1749.—Abraham Akenside of Newcastle, butcher, by his will so dated, bequeathed to his nephew, William Akenside, all his wearing apparel as well linen as woollen, 'except my nightgown.' To his niece, Dorothy Akenside, daughter of his late brother, Mark Akenside³⁷ £20. To his brother, Aaron Akenside,³⁸ £20. He appointed Aaron Akenside his executor. The device on the seal attached to the original will is an eagle displayed.

The said Abraham Akenside by the same will devised to Abraham Wilkinson a messuage and shop in the Butcher bank. According to

³⁷ Welford's *Men of Mark*, i. 27.

³⁸ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xii. 269.

the title deeds, this messuage, which was bounded by Grindon chare on the west, was purchased by Abraham Akenside from John Dobson of Newcastle, merchant, eldest son of Thomas Dobson of Newcastle, feltmaker, and grandson of John Dobson, feltmaker, who was the grandson of George Dobson³⁹ of Newcastle, merchant, who made his will in 1668. Wilkinson sold it to William Burnup.

In 1804 it was owned by John Dunn, butcher. In 1831 it had passed to his sons, William Alder Dunn, the founder of the drapery firm in Market Street, and Nathaniel Dunn. It was sold to the corporation in 1855 by Lawson Dunn, roper. The woodcut of Akenside's house in Mr. Welford's *Men of Mark* does not represent the house mentioned in these deeds, but another house on the opposite side of the Butcher bank. There may well have been two shops occupied by the Akensides in the Butcher bank. That street was the headquarters of the trade from which it took its name. Whitehead's *Directory* for Newcastle, published in 1788, mentions no fewer than 29 butchers who then had shops there.

The following extracts relate to the Erringtons of West Denton, and carry their descent a little further down than does the pedigree contained in Mr. Tomlinson's book on Denton hall:—

31st August, 1663.—Deed, whereby Ann Babington of Newcastle, widow, in consideration of affection for her daughter, Margaret Errington, wife of Gilbert Errington⁴⁰ of West Denton, gentleman, granted her messuage in Hornsby's chare to Gilbert Errington and Edward Crow in fee, to the use of the said Ann Babington for life, with remainder to the use of Margaret Errington in tail.

22nd September, 1663.—The said Ann Babington by her will proved at Durham on the 5th February, 1664, devised the same property to her said daughter, Margaret Errington in fee, and bequeathed her household goods to her daughter, Jane Babington, and to her son, Edward Bulmer, 20s., and appointed Gilbert Errington sole executor. One of the witnesses was George Dobson.

20th March, 1664.—By deed witnessed by George Errington and Charles Errington, Edward Bulmer released his claim on the premises in favour of Gilbert Errington and Margaret his wife.

³⁹ *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 123, etc.

⁴⁰ Tomlinson's *Denton Hall*, appendix vi.

2nd May, 1686.—Francis Errington of Chancery lane in Middlesex, son and heir of Gilbert Errington and Margaret his wife, granted the said messuage to William Pritchard and Thomas Stringer to the use of Francis Errington and Elizabeth his wife, formerly Elizabeth Blackman of London, and their heirs in tail with remainder to Francis Errington in fee.

21st April, 1720.—Francis Errington, the elder, of Monkhouse in the parish of Balmbrough in the county of Durham [Northumberland], and Elizabeth, his wife, and Francis Errington, their eldest son, granted the said messuage to Thomas Ilderton.

4th August, 1720.—Thomas Ilderton conveyed property in Hornsby's chare and Crome's chare to Francis Armorer (hoastman).

10th September, 1759.—Francis Armorer by his will proved at Durham, 15th October, 1759, devised to his daughter, Jane Selby, widow, his messuage in Crome's chare, otherwise Armorer's chare, and his messuage in Hornsby's chare.

The following extracts refer to the Bewickes of Close house, and are interesting as containing a reference to William Gray, the historian:—

1st September, 5 Charles I., 1629.—Indenture between Robert Bewick, esquire,⁴¹ then mayor of Newcastle, of the one part, and William Gray⁴² of Newcastle, merchant, and Thomas Bewick,⁴³ son of the said Robert Bewick, of the other part, witnesses that in pursuance of an award by arbitrators between the said Robert Bewick and John Mitford late of Newcastle, then deceased, touching the agreement made by the said Robert Bewick on a marriage between the said John Mitford and Jane, daughter of the said Robert Bewick, and for the advancement of Robert Mitford, son of the said John Mitford, and grandchild of the said Robert Bewick, the latter conveyed to William Gray and Thomas Bewick a tenement late in the occupation of the said John Mitford, and formerly of Cuthbert Bewick, merchant, deceased,⁴⁴ in the Sandhill, bounded by premises occupied by Alexander Davison, merchant,⁴⁵ westward, by premises of

⁴¹ Welford's *Men of Mark*, i. 279.

⁴² William Gray, the historian, was a nephew by marriage of Robert Bewick.

⁴³ Welford's *Men of Mark*, i. 279. ⁴⁴ *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 112.

⁴⁵ Welford's *Men of Mark*, ii. 21. *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 128, etc.

John Milbank,⁴⁶ merchant, eastward, the Sandhill southward, and premises of Robert Ledger,⁴⁷ draper, deceased, northward, and he also conveyed to them lofts and waste ground formerly in the possession of Cuthbert Bewick, and sometime belonging to John Barker,⁴⁸ merchant, in Ellinor chare, bounded by premises of Ann Nicholson, widow, on the north, premises of Robert Stott, merchant, on the south, premises of John Marshall, tailor, Thomas Rowell, mariner, and Robert Lawson,⁴⁹ boother, on the west, and the said chare on the east; to the use of the said Robert Mitford, in tail, with a proviso that if Robert Mitford died without issue, Robert Bewick should pay £300, as follows:—To Bartram Mitford of the said town, three score and fifteen pounds, to Jane Carnabie, wife of Raiph Carnabie of Halton, in Northumberland, esquire, sister of the said Bartram the like sum, and to the children of Cuthbert Bewick, one hundred and fifty pounds.

1674.—Release, by Thomas Bewick of Close house, to the said Robert Mitford.

The following extracts refer to the Coulsons of Jesmond:—

12th March, 1610.—Indenture between John Coolson of Newcastle, barber chirurgion, and Francis Burrell⁵⁰ and Thomas Humfrey, whereby in consideration of the affection which John Coolson bore for his wife and fower sons, namely, Samuell, Francys, William,⁵¹ and Oswald, he granted to Burrell and Humfrey a messuage in the Keyside bounded by Rode's chare on the west and Coleman Pepper chare on the east (except a shop to the fore street, then used by the said John Coolson), a messuage in Coleman Pepper chare, *alias* Norham chare, a messuage in Rode's chare, and a messuage in Middle street, to the use of John Coolson and Margaret, his wife, for life, with re-

⁴⁶ Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, iii. 237, etc.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Robert Ledger was sheriff of Newcastle in 1622.

⁴⁸ Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, iii. 60, etc. John Barker was a son of alderman Robert Barker, who, dying in 1588, left property in Grindon chare and Shipman chare.

⁴⁹ *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 108 or 162.

⁵⁰ Brand, ii. 450, 451. *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 112, etc. Francis Burrell was sheriff of Newcastle, 1602-3; mayor, 1615-16. Welford's *Newcastle and Gateshead*, iii. 191, etc.

⁵¹ Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. iii. part 2, p. 131.

mainder to his sons for life, each son taking the first life interest in one of the said messuages, with remainder to him in tail, with remainder to his brothers successively in tail.

23rd September, 1661.—Indenture, whereby William Coulson and Jane, his wife, granted to Ralph Carr for a nominal consideration hereditaments on the Keyside bounded by Rhode's chare on the west, and a chare called Pepper Corn, *alias* Pepper Coleman chare, on the east.

24th September, 1661.—Indenture, whereby Francis Hall granted to William Coulson of Newcastle, grocer, and Jane, his wife, a messuage on the Quayside, bounded by Colman Pepper chare, *alias* Norram chare, on the east.

Memorandum of Livery of Seisin, endorsed on the above deed, and witnessed amongst others by Ellinor Coulson.

11th July, 1678.—Indenture, whereby John Coulson of Jesmond, gentleman, and Elizabeth, his wife, Jane Coulson of Jesmond, widow, and John Watson⁵² of Newcastle, merchant, granted to John Bee,⁵³ of Newcastle, master and mariner, two messuages on the Quayside, bounded by Pepper Corn chare on the east and Robinson's chare on the west.

The following extracts refer to the Shaftos of Benwell, and are interesting as mentioning their ownership of 6 acres or 14 rigs of land on the Castle Leazes :—

9th November, 1669.—Indenture, whereby Robert Shafto⁵⁴ of Newcastle, merchant and alderman, conveyed to James Shafto of Newcastle, merchant, one of his sons, a messuage in the Quayside and a messuage in a certain street called the Upper Fryer's chare, in the parish of St. Andrew's, and another messuage without the walls and within the liberties near a certain gate called the Close gate, and all those lands and grounds without the walls and within the liberties in a certain place there called the Castle Leazes, containing, by estimation, six acres, and formerly the lands of Andrew Gofton.

25th May, 1672.—The said James Shafto therein described as a merchant adventurer, by his will, proved at Durham, the 31st May,

⁵² John Watson was sheriff of Newcastle, 1658-9.

⁵³ Brand, i. 372, etc.

⁵⁴ Surtees *Durham*, vol. iii. p. 296; pedigree of Shafto of Benwell. Brand, ii. 663, etc. *Merchant Adventurers*, i. 135, etc.

1672, gave to his brother, Bartram Shafto, his coffee house for life, and then to his brother, Mark,⁵⁵ in fee. He gave Sir John Swinburn's lease of the manor cole to his Aunt (*sic*) Booth for life, and he charged his brother to get it renewed when Mr. Jennison and Mr. Dawson renewed their part and gave it in remainder to his brother, Mark. He gave his brother, Mark, the close at the Forth, called the Hospital close, and the glass houses without the Close gate and the house in High Fryer chare and fourteen rigs in the Castle Meazes, and other his rights therein to him and his heirs for ever. He gave his brother, Bartram, one-sixteenth part of Leven's colyery. He gave to Jane Mattfin, daughter of his sister, Ann Mattfin, £100, to Jane Rutter, £50, and to his sister, Mattfin, and his sister, Rutter, £50 apiece and other legacies. He appointed his brother, Mark, executor.

19th October, 1700.—Mark Shafto, late of Newcastle, esq., and then of the city of Durham, by his will gave to his niece, Jane Sanderson, wife of James Sanderson, clerk, all his right in his house in the Quayside and all arrears due to him out of the colyery at Benwell, being the annuity left him by his late father, Robert Shafto of Benwell, aforesaid, esq., deceased, to his niece, Jane Mattfin, £50, and to the poor of Benwell, forty shillings, and to the minister of the said place, ten shillings, to preach a funeral sermon the Sunday after his decease. He appointed Jane Sanderson executrix who proved the will at Durham, the 12th November, 1700.

The following short extracts are, perhaps, also worth noting :—

5th June, 1668.—John Lambton of Houghton-le-Spring, gentleman, and Phillis, his wife, late wife of George Gran, late of Newcastle, master mariner, conveyed to Christopher Bowman of Newcastle, shipwright, a messuage in Hornsby chare.

23rd July, 1762.—William Rutter⁵⁶ of Newcastle, gentleman, by his will gave his messuage in Pudding chare to trustees for his daughter, Jane Ogle, wife of Henry Ogle, for life, with remainder to her son, William Ogle. He gave to William Ogle of Cawsey park, esq., £100, to put him and his wife (my dear daughter) into mourning, and he desired to be buried in his own burial ground in St. Nicholas' church. Proved at Durham in April, 1764.

⁵⁵ Brand, ii. 210.

⁵⁶ Brand i. 298.

4th October, 1815.—Thomas James of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant, by his will so dated and proved at Durham bequeathed the residue of his estate, including a messuage in Blue Anchor chare, to his brother, William James, late of Deckham hall, in the county of Durham, merchant.

6th February, 1821.—The said William James died, leaving Thomas James, afterwards of Otterburn tower, esq., his eldest son and heir at law.

The William Gray mentioned in the following extracts, though living at the same time, was not the historian, as the father of the latter was Cuthbert Gray.

1st February, 1660.—George Gray, by will of this date, devised his messuage between Hornsby's chare and Elmer's chare to his son, William Gray,⁵⁷ in tail, with remainder to testator's son, George Gray, in tail.

13th March, 1667.—William Gray and his brother George Gray conveyed the messuage to Christopher Bowman.

Amongst other Novocastrians mentioned in the deeds are Joshua Douglass, town clerk of Newcastle, 1709-1742, Robert Sorsbie, mayor in 1731-2, son of Malin Sorsbie, D.D., rector of Ryton, 1679-1706, William Mather, builder, the famous millionaire,⁵⁸ Nathaniel Bayles, surgeon and sword-bearer,⁵⁹ William Scott, fitter, the father of Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell, Sir Thomas Burdon and John White the founder of the *Courant*.

⁵⁷ William Gray, the historian (whose father was Cuthbert Gray), lived until 1674, but, as mentioned by Mr. Welford, there were other William Grays in Newcastle at that time.

⁵⁸ Richardson's *Table Book*, iv. 319.

⁵⁹ Welford's *Men of Mark*, i. 210.

X.—RUINS OF BUILDINGS ONCE EXISTING ON THE QUAYSIDE, NEWCASTLE.

By D. EMBLETON, M.D., a Vice-President of the Society.

[Read on the 29th April, 1896.]

1st. An undescribed arched wall supposed to have belonged to some church or chapel.

2nd. A priory of the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

3rd. A great stone house of the prior and convent of Tynemouth.

On looking into Welford's valuable *History of Newcastle and Gateshead in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, my attention was arrested by the following short passage at page 215 :—"The great stone house of the prior of Tynemouth on the Quayside' is mentioned in a deed of this year's date, 1392," [15th and 16th Richard II.] This recalled an almost forgotten impression which, many years ago, I had received at the old Three Indian Kings' inn, on the Quayside, to the effect that in the west wall of the cellarage of that ancient hostelry, there was a series of three or four quite plain, pointed arches of stone of the same style of architecture as those prevalent in our churches of St. Nicholas and St. John, but of smaller dimensions, and without capitals to the pillars, a peculiarity, according to Mr. Longstaffe, of Newcastle church architecture. The arches were filled in with stone walling, and were supposed to have appertained to some ecclesiastical edifice of the fourteenth century, were perhaps coeval with the churches named, and possibly may have had some connection with the Trinity house, the almshouses of which were only a very few yards distant, or either with the chapel of St. John of Jerusalem, or even with the great stone house of the prior of Tynemouth on the Quayside.

These arches, when new, and with the exception of their having no capitals to their pillars, must have resembled the three plain arches forming the nave arcade of the church of Witton-le-Wear, as described and figured by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, vicar of Witton-le-Wear, in his paper on that church in vol. xvi. part 45, page 63, of *Archaeologia Aeliana*.

It was about the year 1840, when the old Three Indian Kings, by the arrangements of its parts and their age, having become unsuited to the changed customs and requirements of the increasing commerce of the Quayside, was obliged to be pulled down in order to make room for erections better adapted to the altered circumstances, and so the line of pointed arches which had long stimulated curiosity, but had kept its own counsel and the secret of its origin, necessarily went the way of most old buildings no longer wanted, and was carted away with the rest of the inn to assist in making some embankment or other, and the present Three Indian Kings was erected in its place.

In a deed of mine, dated 1560, more than one hundred and fifty years after the date quoted by Mr. Welford, as stated above, relative to the old Three Kings' inn, there is a general descriptive account of the properties occupying the site of the inn at that time, and had occupied for some time previous. This account gives us an interesting view of the arrangement of the buildings at this part of the Quayside long before the present street front had been erected; and we get a verbal picture of a group of small erections consisting of the following, viz. :—

1. A messuage or tenement, with its appurtenances..

2. Around this are four tenements or burgages, one on each side, and one at each end. At the south of this group there are no private buildings between it and the Tyne, there is only the town wall. At the north of the group is a stone wall, extending nearly east and west, which is still the southern boundary of the property of the Trinity house.

I have copied from the deed the description of these tenements, and have arranged them in a simple diagrammatic form.¹ From their moderate size these houses may have been not dwellings but offices devoted to business purposes, and so occupied for a part only of the day, as it may be supposed that the amount of daily commercial business in the first half of the sixteenth century would not require much space or many hours for its dispatch. It is presumed that they were separated from each other by passages or chares, into which doors and windows would open to give access, air, and light to the merchants, the tenants, and the public. Now, the central compartment, according to the above document, was the nucleus or starting

¹ See this at p. 264.

point of the future inn, the west wall of which showed the pointed arches. Whether these formed part of the house before the tenement and it were joined together does not appear by the deed. They were the sole representatives, however, of anything architectural in the group. It is a pity that the dimensions of the arches were not taken. All the dimensions given in the deed have been copied in the diagram. The tenement at the west side of the house belonged to Thomas Rookbye, esq., of Mortham, Yorkshire, who let the tenement at the south side of the house to Richard Harrygatt or Harrygald.

The tenement to the north of the central one belonged to James Anderson, master and mariner, who let it, also his property, to the above-named Richard Harrygatt, who therefore held both tenements. The tenement at the east of the house had been lately in the occupation of the prior and convent of Tynemouth.

The prior and convent possessed property not only in the very centre of commercial activity, but also in various other and upper parts of Newcastle. By the Tynemouth chartulary they had a yearly rent of 111s. from eight burgages on the Quayside. The burgage on the east side of the central one must have been one of these eight, and it was empty, probably on account of the recent suppression of the monastery, and the rent of it according to the above rate was probably about 14s. per annum.

With regard to the tenement at the south of the centre of the group, belonging to Thomas Rookbye, esq., it would, in all probability, being the southernmost of the group, have on its south side or front a doorway and window or windows looking out upon the Quayside, the town wall, and its gates, with a chare on each side of it.

After 1560 several unrecorded changes, forming a revolution in the arrangements of the items of the group, their ownership and tenantry must have occurred; in fact, the five must have been entirely pulled down and replaced by two rows of houses extending from north to south, with a yard or passage between, forming an enlarged property extending from the boundary wall of the Trinity house to the Quayside as then existing.

In 1575 this property was conveyed by George Lawson, gentleman, to Richard Harrygate. Whether this was the same person previously

named, or a relative of his, cannot really be decided, but as only fifteen years had elapsed since the date of the deed, it may be the same.

In what has now been read there is nothing that can throw light on the origin of the arches in the west wall of this property, neither is there anything to show that they had connection with either the so-called chapel of St. John or the stone house of the prior of Tynemouth.

Let us, then, pass on to the consideration of these other ruins.

In Brand's *History and Antiquities of Newcastle*, vol. i. page 22, we find the following:—

1st. Between Grindon chare and Blue Anchor chare there is a remarkable old building, the front towards the quay. It has a balcony, supported by posts with shields on them, but at present not charged with any armorial bearings.

2nd. Behind, in Grindon chare, is a very observable house of stone,² with buttresses on the outside, with a crypt or vault arched with stone, now converted into a cellar. Human bones have been found here, and there is a tradition that this was once called St. John's chapel.

In *Richardson's Table Book*, Hist. vol. iv. page 24, the following passage occurs:—'1829 (May). This month, on pulling down an old house on the Quayside, Newcastle, a fine gothic window was discovered in the east side of what is supposed to be the chapel of St John of Jerusalem. This building, which is of stone, with buttresses on the west side in Grindon Chare, is used as a corn loft; the crypt is used as a warehouse. Human bones have been dug up about it.

'There was anciently in the town's hutch a writing endorsed "The agreement made betwixt the Prior of St. John and the towne of Newcastle, touching a water gate."'

'There is now no longer any doubt that this was the Chapel of that Order, and that the gate alluded to was one contiguous to the town wall which extended along the Quay.'

'There was also a chapel below the Ouseburn, in the parish of All Saints, dedicated to St. Lawrence, and founded by one of the Percies, which is said to have been dependent on the Priory of St.

² May not this have belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem?

John of Jerusalem. This chapel and its possessions were granted, in 1594, to the Corporation of Newcastle. The remains of St. Lawrence's chapel form a part of the glasshouse belonging to Messrs. Robert Todd & Co.'

It seems extraordinary that the author of this extract had neither seen or heard of the remarkable old building with its front towards the Quay, having a balcony supported by posts with armorial shields upon them, although it was quite adjacent to the stone house which he attributes to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem.

Now this old building has a character peculiarly knightly with its array of armorial shields, not at all an ecclesiastical one, and most probably was once the property of the order of St. John of Jerusalem,³ and a priory or commandry of the order, similar to the preceptory of Chibburn, in Northumberland, which has two escutcheons over the south door of its ruined chapel.

To whom, then, are we to assign the stone house in Grindon chare with a fine Gothic window in its east side or end, its buttresses, its crypt arched with stone, all of which must have given the ruin a decidedly ecclesiastical appearance, not to mention that human remains had been dug up near to it, to whom, but to the prior and convent of Tynemouth, who, we know alone had a great stone house on the Quayside.

These two very interesting ruins have long been confounded together, owing to the untrustworthiness of tradition, the want of right discrimination, and the popular ignorance of the existence of a stone house belonging to the prior of Tynemouth, a house which I do not find noticed in Gibson's history of the priory.

It is scarcely possible to discover the dates of the foundations of these once important establishments.

We know that the great stone house was existent in 1392, and that Thomas De La Mere was elected prior of Tynemouth in 1342, and died abbot of St. Albans in 1396. He was a very eminent man, and a great builder, and the house in question was most likely constructed during his Tynemouth priorate.

The order of the knights hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, instituted in 1120, driven from Palestine to Rhodes in 1310, and from Rhodes to Malta in 1523, where they assumed the name of

³ See p. 244.

knights of Malta, had a preceptory at Chibburn, in Northumberland, and besides many preceptories scattered all over England, Chibburn had thirty-two properties from which rents were received. But in the history of the order to which I have access, there is no mention of any preceptory, priory, or commandry, or other institution as existing in Newcastle, and yet we had one of their houses on the Quayside, which had a dependent chapel near the mouth of the Ouseburn.

If it be true that this ruin was really that of a priory of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, as seems proved by the fact of the prior having had an agreement with the town of Newcastle about a watergate, how does it happen that there is no notice of the existence of the priory in the *Extenta Terrarum et Tenementorum Hospitalis*, etc., which is published in vol. lxxv. of the Camden Society, or in vols. v. or xvii. of *Archaeologia Aeliana*.

The order was dissolved by king Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth. It is disappointing to have the thread of one's story suddenly cut off.

In conclusion, the two ancient buildings herein mentioned after having been as good as buried out of sight and memory for centuries had yet to be utterly destroyed as it were by fire. The fate of the arched wall has been already told, that of the ruins of the supposed chapels remains to be briefly indicated.

On the 5th of October, 1854, occurred the memorable explosion at Gateshead, of a large goods warehouse, situated in Hillgate, which scattered fire and desolation among the houses and offices on both sides of the river, and the shipping lying between. The Quayside was next day as if it had been bombarded, the part of the quay which suffered most was that in which Grindon chare, Blue Anchor chare, and three others immediately to the eastward of them, were situated. The Dark chare, to the west of them, escaped, and still exists, being both dark and narrow.

The houses on each side of the chares were so seriously damaged that they had to be pulled down, and the result was that the once celebrated houses of the priory of Tynemouth and of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem or knights of Malta were involved in the common ruin, and for ever disappeared.

Out of a great evil sprang a magnificent good ; the narrow, dark, and dirty chares were replaced by wide streets of fine architectural pretensions—a credit to the town.

NORTH.

 Stone boundary wall of Trinity house.

Tenement
belonging to
James Anderson,
in breadth $8\frac{1}{4}$ yds.

Tenement
belonging to said
Thomas Rookbye,
esq., in tenure of
John Chater,
merchant.

Tenement with appurtenances
conveyed by
James Anderson,
master & mariner,
to
Richard Harrygatt or
Harrygald,
on the Key-side.
[The original of the 3 Kings.]

Tenement
of late belonging
to the
prior of Tynemouth,
in length $7\frac{1}{2}$ yds.

Tenement belonging to
Thomas Rookbye, of
Mortham, Yorkshire, esq.,
(see Welford's *16 and 17th
Centuries* (family Rookbye),
page 4),
in the occupation of the
said Richard Harrygate.

Quayside.

TOWN WALL.

Quayside.

Quayside.

Quayside.

River Tyne.

River Tyne.

SOUTH.

DIAGRAM showing boundaries of tenements referred to in page 259. The particulars taken from a deed, dated January 23, 1560.

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